HARD TIMES TOKEN

LOW

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BY

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TO

WILLIAM T. R. MARVIN

MY friend and associate in the field of Numismatics, who is widely known as an authority in his special branches, not only for careful research but for the valuable additions he has made to the knowledge of the subject, I esteem it a privilege to inscribe this modest brochure, as a slight mark of appreciation of his kindly co-operation with me in promoting the interest of the Science through a long series of years.

LYMAN HAYNES LOW.

PREFACE.

IT is several years since the first edition of my Descriptive Catalogue of the "Hard Times Tokens" appeared, and it has long been out of print. I have so often been requested to reprint it, with such additions as have come to my knowledge since the appearance of the former edition, and to supplement it with brief accounts of the other issues of that trying period in the financial history of our country, usually included in the series, that I have concluded to comply with these invitations.

It is well known to all who are familiar with the exciting times of the administration of Andrew Jackson and his immediate successor, Martin Van Buren, that the political controversies of that period elicited many curious and interesting pieces, and it has been suggested to me that a brief historical sketch of the various causes which evoked them, with notes on the devices and legends which they bear, would be of value — especially to collectors of the present day, who, it may be, know but little of those quarrels. I have therefore given some account of their types and mottoes, which it is hoped will add something of value to mere descriptions, which might seem pointless to-day, did one know nothing of the motives behind them.

Although these issues are of trifling intrinsic value, yet, by reason of their sarcastic devices, their satirical quips, and the political war cries,— humorous, scornful, and sometimes triumphant,— which distinguished them, they have won a well recognized place in the cabinets of collectors of AMERICANA. Indeed, the interest in them seems to be increasing rather than diminishing, especially as the difficulty of obtaining complete sets is found to grow greater and greater as time goes on.

Closely allied to the foregoing are what may be termed "necessity pieces," and the Shop Cards, which were put forth to supply the great lack of a circulating medium in those "Hard Times" which gave the series its popular name. In attempting to trace the origin and home of many of the latter class, I have been fortunate enough to succeed in ascertaining many items of interest, through a correspondence extending over many years, which in a large number of cases has been conducted with representatives of the parties who struck the tokens and cards, or their business successors. From letters thus received I have made occasional extracts; I trust these will add a little freshness to what might otherwise be thought an arid field of bare descriptions.

With these preliminary words of explanation the following pages are offered to those who may chance to feel an interest in the subject.

LYMAN H. LOW,
New York.

HARD TIMES TOKENS.

THE issues commonly called Hard Times Tokens mark a period of peculiar interest in the Numismatic history of the United States. They form a group by themselves as distinct as the Colonial Series so-called, or the State Issues which followed the Revolution. Unlike those, they had no semblance of authority behind them, and they combine, therefore, the character of Political pieces with the catch-words of party cries; of Satirical pieces with sarcastic allusions to the sentiments or speeches of the leaders of opposing parties; and in some degree also of Necessity pieces, in a time when, to use one of the phrases of the day, "Money was a cash article," hard to get for daily needs; and though the dearth of a circulating medium was not quite so great as it occasionally seems to have been over the border, when even buttons were made to do duty, not alone as is jestingly said, for the contribution-box, yet currency was difficult to obtain for the small change of petty expenses.

Several attempts to compile a descriptive catalogue of these tokens have been made. The first of which I have knowledge was in the *Revue Belge*, in 1847, by M. C.-P. Serrure, who wrote a pleasant though somewhat romantic article about them, and illustrated four by engravings. It may interest the reader to know that in his paper he says that Van Buren was a native of North Brabant, and was born at Bois-le-Duc. This will no doubt be news to Americans, who have been taught that he was born at Kinderhook, N. Y., 5 December, 1782. As the Constitution of the United

States provides (Art. II, Sect. 1, paragraph 5) that none but a native-born citizen, or a citizen at the time of its adoption, September, 1787, could be chosen to that office, this may be dismissed without further comment. One other statement in that paper is equally interesting, for he remarks "that to facilitate the circulation of specie Jackson specially authorized private persons to strike copper money;" and this permission, he continues, gave "the enemies of the President or the wags, the idea of circulating satirical halfpennies aimed at the head of the Government;" — which advances a theory for their emission which is almost as surprising as the previous statement. "But however tolerant the United States Government might be," he tells us, "it did not relish this kind of pleasantry, and so at the end of three or four months, it repealed the law allowing private individuals to issue copper money, and took steps to suppress it."

The first American grouping of the series was drawn together by Charles I. Bushnell and published by him in "An Arrangement of the Tradesmen's Cards, Political Tokens, Election Medals, etc.," in 1858. Under the head of Political Tokens, 21 of the series of Hard Times Tokens are found; some others are arranged with the Tradesmen's Tokens.

The next catalogue was that published in the *Journal of Numismatics*, April, 1870, by Mr. J. N. T. Levick, who then described fifty-six pieces, and later the *Coin Collector's Journal* made a more extensive and different arrangement. With its appearance an increased interest was manifested, which has steadily advanced since, and there is now satisfactory evidence that they have taken a permanent and important place with collectors of the United States series. The late Mr. W. Elliot Woodward gathered quite a number of the tokens, and gave more or less complete descriptions of them in some of his Sale Catalogues; but until the present List the most complete catalogue which has appeared was that published by the writer in 1886, in a pamphlet of sixteen pages, with numerous illustrations. This has long been out of print, and in this new and revised List I have enlarged upon the series by admitting Store Cards dated within the period, and a few others, which are known to be of the time. But one new variety have I been able to record, and that is merely a die alteration. To discover the facts bearing upon their issue, the names

of those by whom they were struck, and other matters of interest concerning them, I have carried on an extended correspondence with those from whom information could be obtained. I hope that the results of this correspondence will prove of value to collectors of the series, and I desire here to express my thanks to all who, often at great trouble to themselves, have so kindly given me their aid. By this assistance I have learned many facts, — especially concerning the dated Shop Cards, which had almost passed from remembrance. These seem to be worthy of record, as marking a period which has no parallel in our history, if indeed a parallel can be found in the numismatic history of any people.

Before speaking of the causes which evoked these tokens, it may be well to fix the limits of the group which I propose to describe. They may properly be divided into five classes: — (1). Those having reference to the controversy about the United States Bank. (2). Those bearing popular satirical and political maxims of the period. (3). Those with devices and inscriptions imitating more or less closely the legal coinage. (4). Shop Cards, dated, of the period. (5). Mulings with either the obverses or reverses of any of the foregoing. In many cases it would be difficult to separate the first and second classes; the friends and enemies of the establishment and continuance of the United States Bank, one of the exciting causes of party strife, used these tokens freely, hoping thus to win popular feeling to the side of those who uttered them. And as is frequently the case at such times, when political animosity reaches its most acrimonious stage, sarcasm was a favorite weapon, and employed without mercy to accomplish the desired end.

During the administration of John Quincy Adams the party in power, then known as "National Republicans," succeeded in passing a bill, known as the Tariff of 1828, which was even more highly protective than that enacted in 1824. The first was offensive to the South, but the latter was still more so, and was frequently called by its enemies the "tariff of abominations." Some years previous there had been established, as one of the measures of Hamilton, the great financial minister of his time, the United States Bank, in which the National Government had a large interest as a shareholder and partly also as a director. Both these measures were opposed by the party then known as "Democratic Republicans," which dropped the last part of

their title a few years later, and called themselves Democrats, but were stigmatized by their opponents as "Loco-Focos" — a name given them in consequence of an occurrence at a political gathering of the Democrats in New York, when their adversaries endeavored to break up the meeting by extinguishing the lights; some of the company present who happened to have "Loco-foco matches" in their pockets, relighted the lamps, and continued the meeting.[1] In 1834 the "National Republicans" began to call themselves "Whigs," because, says Fiske in his History of the United States, they considered "Jackson as a kind of tyrant whom they opposed just as Whigs of an earlier time had opposed George III," and the new party name will be found on some of these tokens.

In the National election which followed the passage of the Tariff bill of 1828, Andrew Jackson, the chosen leader of the opponents of the high tariff and the U. S. Bank, idolized at the South not merely because he called himself a native of South Carolina, but also for his brilliant victory at New Orleans in 1815, defeated John Quincy Adams by a vote of more than two to one in the Electoral College. Early in his administration he showed his determined character by his opposition to the "Nullification measures" threatened by South Carolina; but his "Roman firmness," to which allusions will be found on some of the pieces below, carried consternation into the ranks of those who were talking of secession, as for example when he gave the famous sentiment[2] at a Democratic banquet in 1830, which is found on the first

1 The origin of this phrase is doubtful. Some etymologists, as Webster tells us, derive it from the Latin, *loco foci*, i. e. in place of fire, which is somewhat strained; others, says the same authority, following Bartlett, who has explained many "Americanisms," say it is from a self-lighting cigar, invented in 1834 by John Marck, of New York, and called by him a loco-foco cigar; this had a match composition on the end, and Bartlett thinks the word was coined by Marck in imitation of the word *locomotive*, which by the vulgar was thought to mean self-moving. A few years ago a writer in the *New York Times* suggested that it came from the Spanish *loco*, crazy, and *foco*, flash. I leave this question to be decided by some more experienced philologist.

2 This banquet was held in April, 1830. Some mutterings and threats of secession had already been heard, and Calhoun, who was then the Vice President, had as early as 1828 asserted the doctrine of State Sovereignty, — claiming that a State could nullify unconstitutional laws, and virtually assuming that the decision as to what laws were unconstitutional and what were not, was a matter belonging to the State authorities and not to the Supreme Court of the United States. South Carolina was then, as in 1861, the leading upholder of the doctrine of State sovereignty, and it was doubtless with this in mind that Jackson sent the toast which is given more or less correctly on one of the tokens: — "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved." Some quote it as having been even more emphatic — "it must *and shall be* preserved." After Calhoun's resignation of the Vice Presidency to become a Senator from South Carolina, a Convention in that State adopted the "Nullification Ordinance" against the tariff, at Calhoun's instigation, and prepared to resist by force of arms the collection of the National revenue. This led to another display of Jackson's "Roman firmness," and he determined that, at the first overt act, Calhoun should be arrested for treason, and declared, so it is said, that he "would hang him as high as Haman." These facts show the strain on the public mind at that time, and explain the significance of the mottoes on several of these pieces.

token to be hereafter described, "The Union must be preserved;" and his decision of character made itself more and more manifest when he vetoed the bill granting a new charter to the Bank of the United States, and again six months later, when soon after his re-election, he issued his famous "Nullification Proclamation."

President Jackson was not an educated man, and his biographer, Parton, says "he was never a well-informed man;" hence when Harvard College conferred upon him a Doctorate of Laws, in 1833, desiring to honor the patriotic soldier who was the President of the United States and the defender of the Union, but who was no scholar, and who had resigned his seat in the Senate because he felt out of place in "so slow and dignified a body," the judicious grieved, and his enemies rejoiced at the absurdity of the title; and it was not long before the honorary degree appeared upon a token which ridiculed him, associated with the mystical initials O K, popularly believed to have been used by him upon his files of legal documents to show the papers were Orl Korrect [All correct]. Prof. W. S. Wyman, of the University of Alabama, has made the ingenious suggestion that they come from the Choctaw word "Okeh," which curiously enough, he tells us, means "All right;" it might be easier to show that Jackson, who for years lived in a country not far away from the homes of the Choctaws, was familiar with the expression, than that his enemies were right in their rendering, or that those who uttered the tokens ever heard of the Indian word.

It is unnecessary to discuss at length the various influences which made up the political issues of that period; it will be sufficient to say that on many of these pieces will be found utterances of the statesmen of the time, on these two great issues, — exemplified in Jackson's hostility to the Bank, and Webster's defence of the Constitution, — issues which extended into the presidential term of Van Buren, whose declaration in his Inaugural, "I follow in the steps of my illustrious predecessor" was seized by the caricaturists of the period, who represented him as carefully stepping in the footprints of a jackass marching solemnly along the highway, which suggested a device found upon one of the types. Even the humorous legend, "A friend to the Constitution" with the figure of a steer, on the Gibbs tokens, doubtless has reference to the speeches of Webster, the great "Expounder of the Constitution" (as opposed to the Nullification theories of Calhoun) and the defender of the Bank.

Many of the devices allude to the firmness of character justly attributed to Jackson, which his enemies chose to call stubbornness, and the "jack" was the favorite symbol of this quality; others refer to the burden laid upon the people by the refusal to grant a new charter to the Bank; to the destruction which seemed to one party to be the inevitable consequence of the acts of the other; to the ship of state, in danger of wreck, to indicate the ruin which would follow, or sailing proudly on with prospering gales, to symbolize the prosperity which the nation would enjoy, if the plans of the friends of a high tariff and the Bank failed or succeeded; and to the Sub-Treasury System of Van Buren, stigmatized as an "Executive Experiment" and "Financiering" by his opponents. These are clearly indicated by the designs upon these tokens, but some explanations may be interesting.

The figure of Jackson with a sword in one hand and a purse in the other, standing, or emerging from a chest of money, showed the feeling which was expressed in an article printed some years later in the *Albany Argus*, (1 Oct., 1842), which said that the liberties of the country were alarmingly threatened under Van Buren's administration, "by a union of the purse and the sword in the same hands, etc." This same feeling had manifested itself while Jackson was President.

The balky mule was probably suggested by an expression in a letter from Thos. H. Benton, written 11 August, 1837, and printed in the *New Yorker*, 2 September of that year, in which, praising Jackson, he said, "His policy has balked this system, etc.," referring to a movement to issue paper money; to this letter he added a toast in which he used the same words. From this opposition to the Bank, as announced by Jackson, came also the mottoes "My policy," "Veto," and others similar.

The tortoise and safe are believed to allude to the slow and insecure method of moving the Government deposits from the United States Bank to the State Banks, or to the proposed "Sub-treasuries." The phœnix probably alludes to the resumption of specie payment.

Of the legends, "The Constitution as I understand it," is quoted from Jackson's second Inaugural. "Executive Experiment" is a sneer at what one party regarded as the stupidity of its opponent, in employing local banks as "Fiscal Agents." Jackson's policy, according to Benton, in the letter which has been cited above, had "fortified

the country with eighty millions of hard money," and was a plan to require all payments to or by the Government to be made in specie. It was really a "sound money" policy, and as we look back at it, we wonder not only that it should have aroused such bitter opposition from financiers of acknowledged ability, but that the party which claims to be the legitimate successor of the "Jacksonian Democracy," should have afterwards wandered so far from the principles of its founder. On the other hand, the advocates of the "State Bank Deposite System," — which seems to have been advanced as a sort of compromise between the friends of the United States Bank and its opponents, — proposed that instead of requiring all payments to the Government and all expenditures by it, to pass directly through the National Treasury or some of its branches called "Sub-treasuries," Congress should select some twenty-five of the strongest Banks throughout the country, as Depositaries or "Fiscal Agents." This expression will be found on some of the pieces. In a Message to Congress in 1837 Van Buren advocated the establishment of a Sub-treasury, with the enactment of a law for the exaction of specie or Treasury paper for all payments due the Government, and also requiring all demands against it to be paid inflexibly in coin. This scheme was called most "extraordinary" by the opponents of the Administration, but was advocated by Benton, Calhoun, Wright and others. A section of the Administration party favored the plan of a Sub-treasury without the specie clause, but this found little approval in any quarter. To these different schemes we find various references on the tokens.

The phrase "Substitute for Shin-plasters" alludes to another of the follies of the time; the establishment of irresponsible State banks, over which the Government had no control, permitted issues of nominal value, ranging from twelve and a half cents[1] upward, during the dearth of currency. Even the New York Exchange Company put out a bill of this trivial value, printed from a copper plate engraved by C. C. Wright, which was made payable "at one day's sight to J. Smith or bearer, in current Bank Bills," duly signed by its officers, and embellished with an engraving of its fine building; and we have seen a fifty-cent bill of the same institution, signed by the same

1 Even the "sixpence" as it was called in New York, or "fourpence half-penny" as the New Englanders called the little Spanish silver coin of the value of six and a quarter cents, had its paper representive, and the issuers were careful to include the fractions on their bills!

officers, engraved by C. C. Harrison & Sons, of New York, the plate for which is elaborately engine-turned, to prevent counterfeiting. Thus the very opposite effect was produced to that which the *Globe* had prophesied in 1834, if the United States Bank should be refused a charter: — "In seven months from this time bank rags shall be abolished." The country was overwhelmed with worthless stuff, which for a few months in 1837 seems to have driven out all coin from circulation. This miserable currency was popularly and contemptuously called "shin-plasters," "Red dog" (perhaps from bills with red edges, put out by one Jacob Barker, of New York, who on a certain occasion when asked to redeem his pledges, replied with much indifference that as soon as he could possibly make arrangements to do so, he would publish an advertisement to that effect), "Wild-cat" money, and many other opprobrious names, which varied in different localities, but were all satirical. Not only local banks of good repute, and respectable retail dealers in town and country, but oyster-houses, bar-keepers, and all sorts of disreputable concerns, paid out their worthless promises; in the summer of 1837, "John Neale, of 6 John Street, near Broadway, New York," and Valentine, at 50 John Street, in the same city, advertised their readiness to "supply the present scarcity of specie." The plates were neatly engraved, the printed bills were kept on sale, and all that was necessary was to add a signature or two, with the locality where they should be redeemed, and pay them out as money without question. These burlesques on a legitimate currency were forbidden circulation in New York by a Resolution of the Legislature, which took effect 7 May, 1839; their value vanished in a single night, and innocent holders, all over the country, were obliged to "pocket their losses," which were enormous. The proverb that cheap money drives out the good had abundant proof.

Of the phrase "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute" which will be noticed on many of the pieces, it may be said that its author was Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, who was U. S. Minister to France in 1796. The French Directory declined to receive him, hoping to force the Union to side with France against England; war was imminent, and Talleyrand secretly sent word to our Minister that it could be averted by the payment of large bribes to certain officials; this led to the sententious remark which at once raised its author to the highest point in

American popular esteem throughout the land. The cry was taken up again at the outbreak of the Algerine war, previous to which our Government, in its days of weakness, had paid an annual tribute, as did most of the Continental powers, to the semi-barbarous rulers of Northern Africa. When its strength increased, and it was seen, as was early the case, that the tribute would far exceed the cost of maintaining a navy, the young Republic threw off the yoke of the Barbary pirates; acting on the patriotic spirit embodied in the maxim, the frigates Constitution, Congress, United States, Constellation, and others, all of them afterwards famous in American naval annals for their exploits, had been built to oppose the arrogance of France, and settled the tribute forever with their guns at Tripoli. It was still a "phrase to conjure with," when placed upon these tokens, where it was used to serve as a protection for the coppers issued during the suspension of specie payments in Van Buren's administration, so that they might be truly said to declare their character, as not a legal coinage. Other legends seem to need no special explanation; their meaning will be evident from what has already been given.

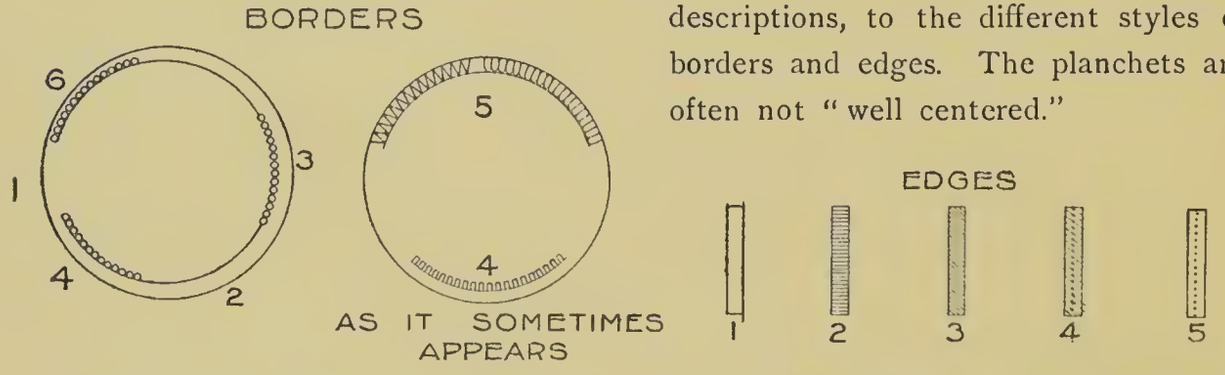
MULES AND SHOP CARDS.

The "mules" are of two classes; those which were perhaps primarily intended as "shop-cards," and those which aimed to bring profit to those who issued them, by associating them with the popular party cries, during the lack of circulating money in the "Hard Times." The devices on some have already been noticed; the others sufficiently explain themselves.

"Shop Cards" are familiar to every collector. They took the place of advertisements in many cases, especially where local newspapers were lacking, though many were put in circulation in the larger towns and cities as well. They first appeared in 1789, but between 1820 and 1825 they were very generally introduced, and they held a place of more or less utility until 1860. While the original design of these pieces was no doubt legitimate in many cases, yet during the stringency of a circulating medium in the "Hard Times," they were for a time readily accepted as currency, not alone by the customers of those who had them struck, but by the general

public, and a very large proportion of them were never presented for redemption. A familiar name for all these pieces, especially the "Not One Cent" varieties, was "Bungtown Coppers." Several attempts at explaining the origin of this name have been given (See the *Journal*, January, 1875), and some of my correspondents have alluded to the epithet in their letters, but nothing satisfactory has been proposed. Perhaps the most plausible suggestion is that the name has a humorous allusion to the bungling manner in which so many of them were struck.

The accompanying cut explains the references by number, in the following descriptions, to the different styles of borders and edges. The planchets are often not "well centered."



The metals are designated as follows: — Æ, Silver; Æ, Copper; B., Brass; W., White metal. The size is given in millimeters. (See back of title for Scale).

1832.



1. *Obv.* ANDREW JACKSON. Head *r.* *Rev.* ★★ THE BANK MUST PERISH. ★★ ★ Within a wreath of olive and oak leaves THE | UNION | MUST AND | SHALL | BE PRE-| SERVED Borders 5. Edge 3. Metal Æ. Size 27.

This piece is also found in white metal (size 28½, edge 3) and silver, and in either of these metals it is extremely rare. Satterlee quotes it in brass, in addition to copper and white metal, but I have never met with such, or learned of it elsewhere.

2. *Obv.* · ANDREW JACKSON · above, PRESIDENT OF THE U S below. Civilian bust *r.* *Rev.* ELECTED . A D. 1828. RE . ELECTED . A D. 1832. In field, WE | COMMEMO^{AT} | THE GLORIOUS | VICTORIES OF | OUR HERO IN | WAR & IN | ★ PEACE ★ Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 27.

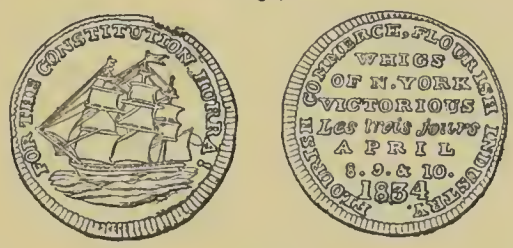
3. *Obv.* ★ ANDREW JACKSON ★ above, PRESIDENT below. Civilian bust *r.*, a close copy of the last. *Rev.* Same as No. 2. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 27.

4. *Obv.* · ANDREW JACKSON · above, PRESIDENT OF THE · U S below. Draped bust *r.*, head laureated. *Rev.* Same as No. 2. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 27.

1833.

5. *Obv.* AND. JACKSON PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. 1833 Within wreath, military bust, head slightly turned *l.* *Rev.* THE GALLANT & SUCCESSFUL DEFENDER OF N. ORLEANS. Within a wreath of oak leaves, an eagle with olive branch and arrows in his talons, and a shield on his breast; below, 8 JAN. 1815 Borders 4. Edge 3. Metal B. Size 26.

1834.



6. *Obv.* FOR THE CONSTITUTION HURRA! Ship sailing *l.* *Rev.* FLOURISH COMMERCE, FLOURISH INDUSTRY. In field, WHIGS | OF N. YORK | VICTORIOUS | *Les trois jours* | APRIL | 8. 9. & 10. | 1834. Borders 5. Edge 1 and 3. Metal B. Size 25, 25½. Also found in silver with edge 3. Dies by Thomas Lovett.

7. *Obv.* THE GLORIOUS WHIG VICTORY OF 1834. Liberty cap in glory, inscribed LIBERTY *Rev.* FELLOW CITIZENS, SAVE YOUR CONSTITUTION. Ship sailing *r.* Borders 5. Edge 3. Metal Æ. Size 27. Also found in white metal and brass, with same edge, both very rare. That in white metal has the rays in glory shorter, heavier and differently arranged.

8. *Obv.* · PERISH CREDIT. PERISH COMMERCE · Boar running *l.* MY | VICTORY | MY | THIRD HEAT | DOWN WITH THE | BANK | 1834 *Rev.* ✱ . MY SUBSTITUTE . ✱ above, · FOR THE U. S BANK · below. Small military bust of Jackson, head turned slightly *l.* MY | EXPERIMENT | MY | CURRENCY | MY | GLORY Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

Many of these show a break in *rev.* die on Jackson's chin, resembling a wart.

The "victory" at New Orleans, and the "glory" due to Jackson's military successes, was a favorite theme of his friends, and the boastful way in which they rehearsed his exploits excited the unceasing and satirical jests of his opponents. [See No. 2 and notes under Nos. 12 and 16.] This was struck as a counterfoil to No. 6, as is evident from a comparison of the reverse legend on No. 6 with the obverse legend of this.

9. Same as No. 8. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 28½. Planchet not as thick as No. 8, and with a square edge. These were issued with a slight plating of silver.

10. *Obv.* Copy of No. 8. Nose of boar points between PERISH and CREDIT. *Rev.* Copy of No. 8. The bust of Jackson has a smaller head and broader shoulders. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

11. *Obv.* Same as No. 8. *Rev.* Same as No. 10. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 28.





12. *Obv.* 'A PLAIN SYSTEM' above, ✱ 'VOID OF POMP' ✱ below. Jackson advancing *l.*, sword in *r.* hand, purse in *l.* *Rev.* THE CONSTITUTION above, · AS I UNDERSTAND IT · below. Balking mule *r.*, on which LL. D.; above, ROMAN | FIRMNESS; below, 1834 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The quotation, "A plain system" etc., is a sharp satire on the professed Jeffersonian Democracy of Jackson. In his speeches and public documents he was constantly upholding the doctrines of the third President, who was "the very embodiment of democracy," and to whom all titles of honor, even

that of Mr., were distasteful, who dressed in the plainest style, and whose Inauguration was pre-eminently "void of pomp;" but the brilliant war record of Jackson was ever on the lips of his party followers. Somewhat egotistic in his way of expressing himself, due rather to his sense of the dignity and powers of his high office than to any great personal vanity, the satirists delighted to portray him in a dress suit, awkwardly brandishing his weapon, or in full uniform as a General, with epaulets and sword, and all the "pomp" of war, with "MY glory," or some similar phrase added, as on No. 8 above, and others. I own an early United States Cent on which has been engraved *Rex and Jackass*, and on *rev.*, *The Hero of New Orleans*, which shows the intensity of party prejudice at this period.

13. *Obv.* . WILLIAM. H. SEWARD. above, OUR NEXT GOV^NR. below. Civilian bust *l.* *Rev.* A FAITHFUL . FRIEND . above, ★ TO OUR COUNTRY ★ below. Eagle with olive branch and arrows in his talons. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 28.

As will be seen, the die-sinker carelessly reversed an A to form the V.

It is difficult at this distance of time to fix the date of this and the two following tokens, or to give an entirely satisfactory explanation of the legends on Nos. 13 to 16. While the extract below from a Democratic newspaper of May, 1835, shows that the Verplanck token was a Whig issue of 1834, yet Verplanck had been elected to Congress by the Democrats (1825–1833), his term having then but lately expired. But Seward and Stillwell were also the candidates of a party which called itself Whig, and were defeated by William L. Marcy in 1834, who was elected by the Democrats. This may indicate that the Seward token was struck either in 1834, when he was first a candidate, or in 1838, when he was successful. Admitting however that it was not struck until 1838, does not remove all difficulties; for since Seward and Verplanck were both rival candidates against Marcy, the legends express what were the hopes of the friends of each in 1834, yet each is called a "Whig token."

A possible explanation is found in the fact that the opponents of Jackson had at that time divided into two groups; one, called National Republicans, under the lead of Henry Clay, charged the President with over-riding the Constitution, and other political crimes, while the other, under John Tyler, called "States Rights" men, opposed a high tariff, a National Bank, etc., and "agreed with the National Republicans in nothing except hostility to the President." The National Republicans began to call themselves Whigs in 1834, and the followers of Tyler soon took the name of States Rights Whigs. The two divisions had nearly come together in 1836, but did not unite in season to agree on Presidential nominations, and Van Buren was elected. Let us therefore suppose that the factions opposing Jackson, the one led by Seward and the other by Verplanck, put out both tokens in 1834, under which date they are placed: the latter faction, as a newspaper cutting of the period before me shows, claimed to be the special "friends of the Constitution and the laws," and called theirs the "Constitutional ticket;" apparently both factions were included under the general name of Whigs by their political adversaries who supported Jackson.

14. *Obv.* Same as No. 13. *Rev.* THE GLORY AND PRIDE. above, and OF OUR NATION ★ below. Eagle with olive branch and arrows in his talons, and shield on breast. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 27½.

15. *Obv.* WILLIAM. H. SEWARD. OUR NEXT. GOV^{VIR} Civilian bust *l.*, similar to No. 13, but larger head; different profile. *Rev.* Same as No. 13. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 28.[1]

16. *Obv.* GULIAN. C. VERPLANK. OUR NEXT. GOV^{VIR} Civilian bust *l.*, probably No. 13 recut about the head. *Rev.* A close copy of No. 13; a different olive branch with two berries; period after COUNTRY and none after FAITHFUL. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 28.[2]

In an article in *The Times*, New York, May 2, 1835, headed "And all their triumphs shrink into a coin," this piece is referred to, and the extracts below, which are copied from it, give the reasons for including this and the three preceding tokens in this list, as they prove that these pieces formed a part of the circulating medium: —

A few brief years will pass away, and with them almost every trace of the existence of the whig party. That party, however, in the pride of its power and confidence of its success, adopted the same plan for perpetuating its name that has been adopted by kings and princes. The story of their accession and their continuance in power is told by the coins and medals circulated during their reigns. * * * We have in our possession a coin of the grand whig emission of 1834. On one side is an eagle, surrounded by the words "a faithful friend to our country," and on the other, an image surrounded by the words "Gulian C. Verplanck, our next Governor." It is made — most appropriately — of brass, symbolical of the modesty of the party by which it was issued. What a treasure will such a coin be to the antiquary a hundred years hence! — How will he pore over its image and superscription, and puzzle himself with most learned doubts as to its history and character! — At what epoch of the republic was it issued? What great event was it intended to commemorate, and who was the great man whose name, otherwise unrecorded — it has preserved for a hundred years? It speaks of Gulian C. Verplanck, "our next governor." He was probably the governor-elect. The people had chosen him, but he had not yet entered

1 William H. Seward was born in Florida, N. Y., 16 May, 1801. He was educated at Union College, and soon after attaining his twenty-first year was admitted to the Bar, where he achieved a high reputation as a criminal lawyer. Joining the Anti-Masonic party in the Morgan excitement, he was elected to the State Senate in 1830, and in 1832 made an able speech in favor of the United States Bank. Defeated as the Whig candidate for Governor in 1834, he won the position in 1838 by a majority of 10,000, and was the first representative of his party to hold that office. The remainder of his life was spent in the political arena, with the exception of the period from 1842 to 1849. In the latter year he was chosen United States Senator, and served until he became Secretary of State under President Lincoln, in 1861. He died at Auburn, 10 October, 1872.

2 Gulian Crommelin Verplanck was born in New York in 1786. He was distinguished as a scholar and writer rather than as a politician, though his first work, published anonymously, was "The State Triumvirate, a Political Tale," which was a brilliant political satire, and appeared in 1819. He was soon appointed Professor of Christian Evidences in the General Theological Seminary (Protestant Episcopal), New York, but was elected to Congress in 1825 and served until 1833. Political life was however distasteful to him, and he returned to literary pursuits. He is best known by his annotated edition of Shakespeare, published in 1846, which was highly praised. Verplanck was chiefly instrumental in passing two Acts while in the State Senate of New York, that greatly increased his popularity: one was that which exempted from attachment the goods of non-resident debtors, and the other for the more permanent establishment of the State Hospital, — both of which were productive of good results. He died in March, 1870.

upon the duties of his office. * * * Why should a coin be struck off with his name and head on it? In all other countries it is the possessor and not the heir to the throne whose effigy is stamped on the coin of the value [? realm]. In looking over the almost interminable list of governors of the different States, the name of Gulian C. Verplanck can not be found. * * * Most unfortunately, the coin bears no date, and for aught that appears to the contrary, it might have been issued anterior to the revolution. You cannot refer it to cotemporary history, for the simple reason that you have no means of judging when it was issued. * * * It is valuable because it is rare, and because from its most incomprehensible character, it will constantly call forth the discussions of antiquaries and virtuosi. It may be that in the wreck of matter of a hundred years, a few files of very old newspapers may survive. Possibly the very paper containing this article may chance to have a better fate than its brethren and furnish an addition to some collection of old and perhaps good for nothing trumpery. — Here then will be a key to unlock the mystery, and the quid nuncs of a hundred years hence will learn that in 1834, there flourished a mighty party called the great universal whig party of the world, a party which lived and flourished on anticipation — celebrated victories which were to be won, but never were won, rejoiced over successes, which like the waters near the lips of Tantalus, were ever at hand but never reached; and struck medals in honor of governors who were never elected. * * * We will mention by way of conclusion that the Verplanck Coinage of 1834 is becoming scarce. The pieces are at a premium, even now, the knowing ones among the Whigs having called in all they could possibly command.

1837.



17. *Obv.* ✵ · EXECUTIVE · ✵ above, and · EXPERIMENT · below. Tortoise *r.* carrying safe inscribed, SUB | TREASURY. Below, 1837 | FISCAL AGENT *Rev.* ✵ · ILLUSTRIOUS · ✵ | I FOLLOW | IN THE | STEPS | OF MY | · PREDECESSOR · Jackass running *l.* First s in STEPS is *entirely* beneath the foreleg; the ground below is short and of slight depth, a small tuft beneath hind feet. Rosettes have plain centres. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.[1]

Whatever truth there may have been in the charges of weakness and subserviency to Jackson and his friends which were brought against Van Buren by his political enemies, it is now generally admitted that his financial ability was great, and as Fiske says, "The principal achievement of his administration was the divorce of Bank and State." To his successful "experiment" is due the establishment of the

1 Cut erroneously represents *r.* ear of jackass as pointing to the second L in ILLUSTRIOUS; but on the piece it points to the right part of the first L as on No. 18.

Sub-treasury system, which finally took shape in 1846, and is still in force. The Independent Treasury Bill was introduced in Congress, 2 September, 1837, and rejected, but was passed with some modifications in 1840, and though repealed under Tyler, at length became the established Government policy, without regard to party. Briefly the experiment was to withdraw the Government funds from State Banks, — private institutions chartered under State Laws, — and place them in the hands of United States Government officers. The result of this was to separate the Government funds from all others, and to free its Treasury from any dependence upon the banks in its fiscal operations; the collection, safe-keeping, transfer and disbursement of the public money was to be performed solely by agents of the Government, — called "Fiscal Agents," — and all payments by or to the Government were made in specie. One can but wonder at the opposition these sound financial principles aroused.

The tortoise with a safe on its back on the tokens has been said to allude to the slow progress which the experiment made, and the running jackass to Van Buren's rapid growth in popularity — which is doubtful. The withdrawal of public funds from the banks, with other reasons, led to a contraction of the currency and great changes in apparent values, which under the loose methods that had previously obtained, may be said to have been the apparent causes of "Hard Times." The true causes lay further back, and are easily discernible by the student of history; a brief reference to them is made below.

18. *Obv.* Same as No. 17. *Rev.* Copy of No. 17. The jackass and ground beneath, on this and the two varieties following, are longer than on the preceding; *r.* ear points to *r.* part of first L in ILLUSTRIOUS; *l.* ear between and beyond the letters I, which begin the two lines over the animal. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ Size 29.

The borders of Nos. 17 and 18 are but slightly raised, and barely perceptible on 17.

19. *Obv.* Copy of No. 17. Corner of safe opposite *r.* part of X in EXPERIMENT; the perpendicular strap on end passes through the exact centre of handle; rosettes are smaller and less leaf-like; the ground and grass are different; date small, 7 above G in AGENT. *Rev.* Copy of No. 17. The *r.* ear points to the second L in ILLUSTRIOUS; the *l.* touches top of I in IN; *l.* fore foot points at P in PREDECESSOR, *l.* hind foot nearly touches R of same word. Periods, smallest of this type. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½, 29½.

This piece was also struck in silver, it is said, for "Capt. Davenport," in 1837, concerning whom I have not been able to learn anything.

20. *Obv.* Copy of 17, with FINANCIERING instead of EXPERIMENT. Proportions of safe are slightly different from preceding; the strap on end passes through handle

a little *l.* of its centre. *Rev.* Copy of No. 17. The *r.* ear in same position as on No. 19; the *l.* similar to No. 18; I in IN touches ear below its point. O in FOLLOW below T in ILLUSTRIOUS; both hind feet rest squarely on ground. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

This number is often found imperfectly centered.

21. *Obv.* Female head *l.* with chaplet of laurel leaves, within a circle of thirteen stars. *Ex.* 1837. *Rev.* MILLIONS FOR DEFENCE Wreath of olive leaves, nine berries outside, six inside, within which, NOT | ONE | CENT | —— | FOR TRIBUTE Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27.

A break in the obverse die is noticeable from the leaves on head through the eye to the third star, and thence to the second, on all I have seen. The obverse border is weak, and on many specimens it appears for the most part plain. The small stems (two at *l.*, one at *r.*) of the bow, were counted as berries in my first edition. Designed after the U. S. Cent.

The significance of this reverse legend has been explained in the Introduction.

22. *Obv.* Similar to No. 21. Head smaller, fifteen stars, two of them small, separated by date. *Rev.* Same as No. 21. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27.

23. *Obv.* Female head *l.* with coronet inscribed UNITED within a circle of twelve stars. *Ex.* 1837 (the largest date of the series). *Rev.* Type of No. 21. NOT | ONE | CENT is higher in wreath, which has nine berries outside, four inside. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27½.

24. *Obv.* E PLURIBUS UNUM above female head *l.* with chaplet of laurel leaves, plain hair cord; thirteen stars (seven on *l.*). *Ex.* 1837 (the smallest date of the series). Lowest curl terminates *r.* below neck, opposite the first star. *Rev.* Type of No. 21, ONF instead of ONE, and without dash below CENT Wreath has six berries outside, six inside. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

25. *Obv.* Same as No. 24. *Rev.* Same as No. 24, with die altered to ONE and the berries increased to seven outside and eight inside. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

26. *Obv.* Type of No. 24. Beaded hair cord; lowest curl short and over 37 in the date, which is large. *Rev.* Same as No. 25. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

27. *Obv.* Same as No. 26, with lines cut around motto, forming a scroll (type of all female heads following, excepting No. 55). *Rev.* Same as No. 25. A star has been added on each side of FOR and a dash below CENT Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

This piece was also struck in brass. I know of but one specimen and believe it to be unique. For a note on this and the three preceding numbers see No. 50.

28. *Obv.* Similar to No. 27. Letters of the motto smaller; plain hair cord (and on all following); lower curl large, terminates *r.* above 7 in date; six stars on left (all others have seven). *Rev.* Copy of No. 23. The wreath has six berries outside, seven inside. Borders, *obv.* 4, *rev.* 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

29. *Obv.* Female head *r.*, general type resembling No. 27 but inferior in design and execution. Heavy masculine features; large lettered motto; lowest curl terminates *r.* above space between 7 and * *Rev.* Type of No. 21. The wreath has four berries outside (two opposite second E in DEFENCE), and four inside. First letters in ONE and CENT are weak, occasioned by high relief of cheek on obv. Borders, *obv.* 5, *rev.* 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.



30. *Obv.* Similar to No. 28. Chin and point of bust short; curl on and below neck, both terminate *l.*, the latter above 37. *Rev.* Similar to No. 21. The wreath has three berries outside, six inside (in three pairs); *without* dash below CENT. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.



31. *Obv.* Similar to No. 28. Nose sharp; point of bust above I in date; lowest lock horizontal (only instance) with curl terminating *r.*, above 7; end of scroll beneath second U in UNUM. *Rev.* Similar to No. 21. The wreath has four berries outside (one opposite *first* E in DEFENCE and another, very small, on the leaf which points to C), and six inside; a small dot after TRIBUTE. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The stem of the leaf pointing to N in NOT, on sharp impressions, has the appearance of a berry, and probably was intended for such; this with the distinct one below it, would match the pair that are opposite, on the inner side of wreath; but so seldom does it appear with distinctness that I forbear to count it as a berry.

32. *Obv.* A fair copy of No. 31. Curl on and below neck, both terminate at *l.*; end of scroll under N in UNUM, which letter is double-cut at bottom. *Rev.* Same as No. 31. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

33. *Obv.* Same as No. 32. *Rev.* Similar to No. 21. The wreath has five berries inside, three outside (one opposite second E in DEFENCE). Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.



34. *Obv.* Close copy of No. 32. Lower curl further from 7; end of scroll under second U in UNUM. *Rev.* Same as No. 31. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

35. *Obv.* Same as No. 34. *Rev.* Die of No. 31 retouched. Berries and stems enlarged; leaf opposite first E in DEFENCE lengthened from the berry to the leaf above. The small berry on the leaf pointing to C and the stem (or berry) of that pointing to N in NOT are cut out.

36. *Obv.* Same as No. 34. *Rev.* Similar to No. 33. The wreath has two berries outside, six inside, one near E in TRIBUTE. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

37. *Obv.* Same as No. 34. *Rev.* BENTONIAN CURRENCY Within a wreath of olive leaves (three berries outside, six inside), MINT | DROP *Ex.* 1837' Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

"Bentonian Currency" was hard money as opposed to paper. The friends of the United States Bank who favored the issue of Government paper for circulation, were constantly ridiculing their opponents by squibs in the newspapers of the day. The *Virginia Advocate*, for example, had the following in an article headed, "Who would not be a Jackson man?" — "Have you been seven times spurned by the people when you offered to serve your country, and are you in want of the wherewithal to make the pot boil? — try the hard money tack, and jingle a few Benton yellow jackets at everybody but your creditors, and it's odds if you don't rise to an embassy or a department. It is the short cut to fame, to wealth and power; and one has hardly time to put on a clean shirt before he writes his name on the milky way of 'glory.' . . . This Jacksonism is a crucible which like that of the astrologer, turns all baser metals to gold. Oh, what it is to be a Jackson man!" On the other side, Benton, in a letter written from St. Louis, in August, 1837, praised Jackson for accumulating eighty millions of hard money in the country — enabling the Government to be independent, raising prices for farm products, and prophesied good times, etc. He quoted Jefferson as having, in 1792, charged the Federalists with a scheme to banish gold and silver from circulation and deluge the States with paper money — which would have been accomplished in 1837 were it not that "Jackson's *policy balked this system* in the moment of its anticipated triumph," and he closed his letter by saying, "I think his successor [Van Buren] is '*made of the stuff*' to sustain that policy, etc." Only a few months later, the policy of Jackson and Van Buren, or rather the heroic methods by which its supporters attempted to carry it out, regardless of the laws of business, — for the policy itself was sound — with other causes, brought the entire country to the verge of ruin. But the crash of 1837 and the Hard Times which followed, were by no means solely due — as the Whig leaders would have it believed — to the overthrow of their policy and the "mint drops" or hard money of Jackson and Van Buren: they were only the culmination of evils which had long been threatening disaster. The wild speculations which accompanied the rapid development of Western lands from 1820 onward, intensified by the building of railroads, as Fiske tells us; the miserable banking system of the period; the inflation of the currency by the issue of worthless bills and "shinplasters," were all potent causes. When speculation was checked, and "cheap money" abolished, prosperity returned. For this the Whigs claimed the glory, but it was due nevertheless to the "experiments" which they satirized so severely.

38. *Obv.* Same as No. 34. *Rev.* Same as No. 37, with left end of the string (which, with ribbon fastens wreath) extended from the top of 1 in date, makes the legend apparently read, LBENTONIAN and the date 837. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

I now incline to the opinion, that what I regarded, in my first edition, as a break in the die at the figure 1, is the engraver's extension of the string, — it is too delicate for a ribbon, — to correspond with the end at the right. Both, however, are so disconnected, that thoughts of broken die, parenthesis and quotation marks, are each suggested.



39. *Obv.* Same as No. 34. *Rev.* MILLIONS FOR DEFENCE Within which is a circle of twenty-seven stars surrounding the inscription, NOT | ONE CENT | ➳FOR➴ | TRIBUTE | ~~~~ *Ex.* A foliate ornament. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The tops of 1 and B in TRIBUTE are joined. The stars were possibly intended to represent the States, of which at this time, however, there were but twenty-six.



40. *Obv.* Same as No. 34. *Rev.* SPECIE PAYMENTS SUSPENDED A wreath of oak leaves and acorns, the stems crossed at base and tied; the terminal leaves at the top closely approximating, within which, MAY | TENTH | 1837 Second leaf *l.* inside,

erect and near T in TENTH, I in date beneath the centre of E. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

41. *Obv.* ✱ VAN BUREN ✱ —— METALLIC 1837 CURRENCY Wrecked ship *l.*, her side inscribed EXPERIMENT Mizzen-topmast fallen forward, other topmasts are missing; bowsprit points to M in METALLIC; letters and date small. *Rev.* Type of No. 21. Wreath has three berries outside, six inside; *no dash* under CENT. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

Also struck in silver, and I believe the impression to be unique.

42. *Obv.* Same as No. 41. *Rev.* Die of No. 41 with wreath re-engraved, seven berries each outside and inside, and a *short* dash added below CENT. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 29.

Like the preceding, struck in silver, and also supposed to be unique.

43. *Obv.* Die of No. 41 with lightning added above the ship and a fore-topmast and main-topmast falling forward. *Rev.* Same as No. 42. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 29.

Also struck in silver, and doubtless unique. For a note on this and the two preceding numbers see No. 50.



44. *Obv.* Copy of No. 41. Letters and date larger; stars smaller and six-pointed bowsprit points to star before V. *Rev.* · I TAKE THE · above, ✱ · RESPONSIBILITY · ✱ below. Military bust of Jackson in treasure chest, holding a sword in *r.* hand and money bag in *l.* Beneath the chest H Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

For notes upon the reverse die and cut of same, see No. 51, where it becomes an obverse. Rosettes have small dots in centre.



45. *Obv.* ✻ SUBSTITUTE FOR SHIN PLASTERS ✻ Phoenix rising from flames; beneath, NOV^R | 1837. *Rev.* Same as No. 33. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The last two figures of date show that portions have been recut.

"Shinplasters" have been referred to in the Introduction. The name was applied to bills of irresponsible banks and private parties. The device of the phoenix rising from flames seems to mean that the paper money was only fit to be burned, and that with its destruction new life would spring from its ashes. The date, November, 1837, is that of a convention held in New York on the 27th of that month, by representatives of leading banks in nineteen States, to fix a date for resumption. They met again the 16th of April, 1838, and decided to resume specie payments the 10th of May following, which was successfully accomplished after a suspension of exactly one year. (See No. 40.)

46. *Obv.* Same as No. 45. *Rev.* Same as No. 36. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

47. *Obv.* Same as No. 45. *Rev.* Same as No. 40. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

48. *Obv.* Same as No. 45. *Rev.* Copy of No. 40. Strings to bow do not extend inside of the wreath; first leaf *l.* inside slants *l.*; 1 in date beneath the upright of E in TENTH. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

49. *Obv.* U. S. STANDARD WEIGHT & VALUE Eagle with olive branch and arrows in talons, and a shield on his breast; below, 1837 *Rev.* HALF | CENT | WORTH | OF within a wreath of twenty-seven olive leaves, with ten berries, draped with ribbon at the bottom; below, PURE COPPER Thirteen stars form two-thirds of a circle around the border. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 23.

50. *Obv.* TOKEN | 25 CENTS | 1837 in large letters and figures. *Rev.* AMERICAN SILVER in small letters above an eagle, type of 49; the shield has three pales. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 26.

This piece was first introduced to the public by the late Charles I. Bushnell in his work (referred to in the Introduction), published in 1858. It next appeared in his collection of coins, which was dispersed by auction in 1881. I purchased the piece for a collector who still retains it; no other is known to me, and I have no hesitancy in stating that my conclusions are, that it is unique and was struck from dies made by Bushnell's order. I hold a similar unfavorable opinion of Nos. 24, 25, 26, 27, 41, 42 and 43, but in these latter I think a partner was admitted, and a very limited number of each was struck, but probably only single specimens in silver.





51. *Obv.* Same as *rev.* of No. 44. *Rev.* THE CONSTITUTION above, · AS I UNDERSTAND IT · below. Donkey standing *l.*, on the side of which, LL. D; above, ROMAN | FIRMNESS and below, VETO On the obverse, H beneath chest is omitted on cut. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28, 29.

The spaces on the safe appear to be in at least three conditions, differing as follows: — 1st, the vertical lines in front are but lightly defined in four of the spaces; the horizontal lines on the end are totally wanting in six of the twelve spaces; in the upper three they show lightly at the top; in the lower three, strong and full: 2d, all spaces appear to have been retouched, only four remain unfilled and these on the end: 3d, every space is filled, and all I have seen of 52 are from this finish; in fact, the whole die seems to be brought out stronger.

The date of this token and others muled from the obverse die (Nos. 44, 52, 53) is somewhat uncertain; they evidently refer to Jackson, who was shown with sword and purse in No. 12. The feeling which led to the adoption of the device however manifested itself for some time after the Whigs had taken the reins of government, for the *Albany Argus*, 1 October, 1842, said: — "The liberties of the Country were alarmingly threatened under Mr. Van Buren's administration by a union of the purse with the sword in the same hands."

52. Same as No. 51. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 28½.

53. *Obv.* Copy of No. 51, without H beneath the safe; the spaces in the safe are all filled, and with perpendicular lines; head large; coat shows eight buttons; the rosette becomes a cluster of six pellets. *Rev.* Copy of No. 51; donkey's body and ground larger. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

While this is a fair copy of No. 51, the work is much inferior and the striking badly executed; impressions are deep in planchets, leaving sharp raised borders.

1838.

54. *Obv.* ✱ AM I NOT A WOMAN & A SISTER ✱ Female slave manacled and in chains, kneeling *r.* on ground, in supplication. *Ex.* 1838 *Rev.* UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. [The diagonal of the N in UNITED runs upward instead of down.] Within a laurel wreath, LIBERTY | 1838 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27, 28.

The question of slavery and its abolition had at this time found a permanent place in politics, and to a large number of people in the North such sentiments were particularly pleasing. Hence, the shrewd selection of the device of the kneeling slave, to popularize the introduction of a profitable token and to advance the cause of freedom.

55. *Obv.* A very ugly female head *l.* with coronet inscribed LOCO FOCO Thirteen stars. Below, 1838. *Rev.* BENTON above, ✱ EXPER IMENT ✱ below. Within a wreath of olive leaves and berries, MINT | DROP | — Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

The occurrence to which allusion appears on this token was briefly mentioned in the Introductory remarks. At a meeting in Tammany Hall, on the evening of 29 October, 1835, there was a split in the party over the Congressional nominee. The friends of each had endeavored to pack the meeting; great confusion attended the efforts of the chiefs and their followers to obtain control, amid which the gas was turned off, it was alleged through the connivance of the janitor with one faction. Their opponents, however, if they did not themselves instigate the move, were equal to the occasion, and somewhat singularly, had come prepared with loco-foco matches and candles, and the room was speedily relighted. The *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer* dubbed the anti-monopolists, who had used the matches, "Loco-focos," and the name was speedily affixed to the whole Democratic party. The contemptuous method in which the Whigs of those days uttered the phrase, when speaking of their adversaries, as if it were the condensation of all scornful epithets, may perhaps be recalled by some of our older readers. The resolutions adopted gave pointed expressions against the United States Bank and favored gold and silver as the proper circulating medium (Hard money).

1840.

56. *Obv.* THE SOBER SECOND THOUGHTS above, * OF THE PEOPLE ARE . O . K * below. Bust of Van Buren *l.* *Rev.* THE . INDEPENDANT (*sic*) . TREASURY above, * THE . CHOICE OF . THE . PEOPLE * below. Eagle flying above a safe, holds a scroll in his beak, inscribed JUSTICE on one fold, F.QUALIT [EQUALIT] on the other. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

These were issued with a light coating of silver, and occasionally a specimen is found which shows traces of it remaining between the letters. I do not know of one unpierced. It is also found in brass (and pierced), and I have a record of the same in white metal, but am unable now to verify it, or to trace the source of my information. "O. K." has been discussed in the Introductory Note.

57. *Obv.* MARTIN VAN BUREN above, · THE PEOPLES CHOICE · below. Bust of Van Buren facing one-quarter *l.* *Rev.* SUB TREASURY | & DEMOCRACY . above a safe, at the right of which the forepart of dog, lying with a key under his right paw, a design very similar to that used by the American Express Company to-day. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 23.

1841.



58. *Obv.* * WEBSTER * above, and CREDIT 1841 CURRENT completing the circle. Ship sailing *r.*, seven sails set, her hull inscribed CONSTITUTION *Rev.* Same as No. 39. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The hull bears no resemblance whatever to that of a vessel; without the spars and sails, it simply represents a slightly curved plank, cut off square at the ends.

Daniel Webster was a strong advocate of the United States Bank, and his speech on the subject in May, 1832, was an important one, while that of September, 1837, in the Senate, in opposition to the Sub-Treasury Bill is regarded as "one of the most effective of all his arguments on the subjects of currency

and finance." His defence of the Constitution in January, 1830, in a famous speech, won for him the title of "Defender of the Constitution," to which this token alludes. As the leader of the opponents of Jackson's policy, Webster's name appears on several of their tokens, and it is interesting to note that his first great speech in favor of the United States Bank was met by the token issued by its adversaries and the first described in this work, which declared "The Bank must perish" but "the Union must be preserved;" yet the Union had no more strenuous upholder than the great supporter of the Bank.[1]

59. *Obv.* Same as No. 58. *Rev.* Same as No. 31. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.



60. *Obv.* Same as No. 58.[2] *Rev.* Copy of obverse of No. 43; six-pointed stars, (in place of five); letters larger; water more turbulent; lightning above; one flash ends under A in VAN; the top of the promontory is opposite the same letter; the ship is without a bowsprit, and has a straight deck. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

61. *Obv.* Same as No. 58. *Rev.* Copy of No. 60. The ship is curved; the falling main topmast points at the top of the promontory; a flash of lightning points between them; E in CURRENCY on line with the top of the stern. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

62. *Obv.* Copy of No. 58, but better executed. A cross-tree below the lower sail on the mainmast; the flag on the foremast extends only to the middle of R in

1 Daniel Webster was born in Salisbury, N. H., 18 January, 1782. Graduating from Dartmouth in the Class of 1801, he at once began the study of law in Salisbury, and in 1804 entered the office of the Hon. Christopher Gore, of Boston. He practiced a few years in New Hampshire, until elected to the House of Representatives in the National Congress by his native State. He withdrew from political life at the close of his second term and removed to Boston in 1816. Six years later he was again sent to Congress as a Representative from Massachusetts, and in 1828 was chosen Senator, and served until he became Secretary of State under Fillmore in 1850. He died at Marshfield, Mass., 24 October, 1852. This brief outline of one of the most eminent and widely known statesmen of America, is perhaps all that need be given in this connection.

2 The cut over No. 58 shows the obverse and that over No. 60 the reverse of this mule. Its object was to contrast the results of the policy of the two parties, as the Whigs saw them.

WEBSTER; the stars on both obverse and reverse are very small. *Rev.* VAN BUREN above, and * METALLIC 1837 CURRENT * completing the circle. Close copy of No. 61 (CURRENT instead of CURRENCY). The top of the stern on a line with the left part of the second R in the same word; a small stump of bowsprit. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½, 29.

A few of these are from dies slightly rusted, noticeable through the lightning flashes (which are not all brought out), and in CONSTITUTION on the side of the ship. This number was also struck in silver, and like its companion No. 19, probably on the same occasion, and is believed to be unique.

63. *Obv.* WEBSTER above, and * CREDIT 1841 CURRENCY * completing the circle; ship (a copy of No. 58, with ship-like ends), straight deck, inscribed CONSTITUTION. Four stays from the bowsprit to the foremast; the top of the flag is opposite E in CREDIT; the stars are small. *Rev.* Same as the obverse of No. 44. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28, 28½.

All I have seen of this have a crack in obverse die, from second C in CURRENCY, through the ship, to E in CREDIT.



64. *Obv.* Copy of No. 63. Two stays from the bowsprit to the foremast; fore-topmast-staysail set, as are eight other sails; the top of the flagstaff on the stern is opposite R in CREDIT. *Rev.* Same as obverse of No. 44. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½, 29½.

About one-half of these have a slight break in the obverse die between the letters C and Y in CURRENCY, and on a few it extends to the ship, with another break through D in CREDIT, and sometimes continuing through CONSTITUTION. A third and still rarer break is visible at E in CURRENCY.



65. *Obv.* A creditable copy of No. 58 with a leaf before and after WEBSTER, instead of a star. *Rev.* Same as obverse of No. 30. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

It may be noted that this piece and No. 30 have the squarest and sharpest edges of any in the series.

66. *Obv.* * A FRIEND * above, and below completing the circle, TO THE CONSTITUTION A steer standing *r.*, with ground indicated beneath. *Rev.* AGRICULTURE on the left, AND COMMERCE * on the right of a ship sailing *r.*, type of No. 58, but the hull is of better design, having a prow, shapely stern, and sixteen port holes. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ Size 28.

The left upright of each N in CONSTITUTION is faintly outlined, and not struck up as strongly as the other letters.



67. *Obv.* E PLURIBUS UNUM on a scroll above a female head *l.*, closely resembling No. 34. A branch with five roses and sixteen leaves *l.*, and four roses and twelve leaves *r.*, in place of stars. *Ex.* 1841. *Rev.* Same as No. 40. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The bust on the foregoing is the shortest in the series, with the truncation line incomplete at right, and not reaching the curl; behind the curl are three small dots,

possibly intended to form a part of the outline of the unfinished bust. The last two figures of date are double-cut at the top.

68. *Obv.* Same as No. 67. *Rev.* Same as No. 37. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

A very few specimens show a break through the letters in DROP.

69. *Obv.* Same as No. 67. *Rev.* Same as No. 33. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

70. *Obv.* Copy of No. 67. The date is smaller and further from the bust; the scroll terminates on the right below N in UNUM, and the point of the bust is much longer. *Rev.* Type of No. 33. The wreath has three berries outside and four inside; the berries are larger and letters smaller. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27½.

Also struck in silver, and I believe it to be unique.

71. *Obv.* Same as No. 70. *Rev.* Same as No. 70, except that a small six-pointed star has been added on each side of FOR and one small berry to inside of wreath. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27½.

This has also been struck in silver, and I believe it to be unique.

MERCHANTS' CARDS DATED BETWEEN 1833 AND 1844.

1833.

72. *Obv.* CHEAPSIDE . (on a label) | Nº 1 above a perspective view of the front of a long one-story building, in colonnade style, with portico; below, 1833 | NEW BEDFORD. *Rev.* Legend, FRANCIS L. BRIGHAM. above, and below completing the circle, DEALER IN DRY GOODS. In the field, in four lines, BY | WHOLESALE. | AND | RETAIL Borders, a double circle; the outer one of pellets: the inner, of minute beads. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

All I have seen of this variety show a long break in the obverse die.

"Cheapside" was the name given sixty years ago, to that portion of Pleasant Street, New Bedford, which formed the east side of what was then called Market Square, fronting a large granite building used

for a market, public meetings and the like, and later, I believe, for the City Hall. "Cheapside," parallel with Purchase Street, a block away, was bordered by the long, one-story building, shown on the token, and was a favorite resort for shoppers. Francis L. Brigham was in 1836 (by the New Bedford Directory) a dentist, having an office at 24 Purchase Street, and a correspondent informs me that he was engaged in that profession when he died, 18 September, 1845, aged nearly 43. Just when he abandoned the selling of dry goods and took up dentistry, does not appear. He is still remembered for some slight eccentricities.

73. An exceedingly close copy of No. 72, but without the inner beaded circle on either obverse or reverse. Edge I. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

In no instance within my experience have I found two pieces so closely resembling each other in many points, as the two preceding. Although there are noticeable differences on careful comparison, yet there are numerous points which seem to indicate that No. 72 may be from this die retouched; one of the strongest features corroborating this theory and most difficult to dispose of (if there are two dies) is that each has a border of seventy-nine pellets, and their positions opposite the letters are exactly the same on both. Besides the inner circle omitted on this piece, the other notable differences are the following: — the ends of the scroll do not terminate in a small dot, the roof of the portico is shorter, the ground in front of the building is narrower, the columns and windows are differently arranged, and the letters are lighter. Whoever cut the dies of the card of Crocker Brothers & Co., of Taunton, I believe cut this piece. Indeed those who engaged in striking these tokens were in the same line of business as Crocker Brothers & Co.; hence it is not improbable that these two cards may have been their work.

74. *Obv.* CITY COAL YARD * PROVIDENCE, R. I * A coal grate. *Rev.* Inscription in six lines, · EPHRAIM A. HATHAWAY · | ·✳· | ANTHRACITE | ∽ & ∽ | BITUMINOUS | COAL | ·✳· | ● · 1837 · ● Borders 4. Edge I. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

Inquiries concerning Ephraim A. Hathaway have brought little information. He was in business in Providence, R. I., for a short time only, and died many years ago, leaving no relatives that can now be found.

75. *Obv.* AMERICAN INSTITUTE Liberty seated at the shore, amid emblems of commerce, and leaning on a shield surmounted by an eagle. Below, NEW YORK | H *Rev.* Below a label with the words COPY OF A MEDAL the inscription in nine lines AWARDED

TO | ROBINSON'S | JONES & CO | FOR THE BEST | MILITARY, NAVAL, | SPORTING, | & PLAIN FLAT | BUTTONS | 1833 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

Mr. Bushnell in his work already referred to says of this piece, "dies by Edward Hulseman." This I think it fair to assume as a fact; hence we shall not go far astray if we assign to this engraver all Tokens struck within the period treated in this work which have the initial H. His name appears in the New York Directories from 1837 to 1841, as a card engraver, at 80 Nassau Street.

Whether H. M. & E. I. Richards, of Attleboro', Mass., struck the Tokens for this firm or the firm did the work themselves — they being in a line of business requiring similar machinery — it is not easy to decide, but I rather lean to the first named house, and I believe that Hulseman was in their employ.

76. *Obv.* Same as No. 75. *Rev.* A good copy of No. 75. The ends of the label, branches and ornaments mark the points of difference. All *r.* arms of T's after THE, are without ceriphs (T); M in MILITARY lacks the ceriph on the *l.* upright (M); 1 in date is small and slightly slanting.

1834.

77. *Obv.* BUCKLINS BOOK KEEPING SIMPLYFIED MAY BE USED BY EVERY ONE 1834. In the field, the inscription in eight lines, SHOWS AT | ONE VIEW THE | EXACT STATE OF | YOUR BUSINESS. | SECOND EDITION | IMPROVED. PRICE | ONE DOLLAR. | TROY. N. Y. *Rev.* BUCKLINS INTEREST TABLES. 100 DOLLARS FOR DETECTING AN ERROR OF 1 CENT. In the field, the inscription in nine lines, SHOWS THE | INTEREST AT A | GLANCE. OF ANY SUM | FOR ANY TIME. | AT 6 AND 7 PER CENT. | PRICE | FROM 25 CENTS TO | 2 DOLLARS. | BALE. N. Y. TROY. N–Y Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

Isaac B. Bucklin was a school-teacher in Troy in 1835–7, having his residence in what was then called West Troy, now a part of the city, giving special attention to instruction in book-keeping, and printing and selling "Interest tables." In 1839 and later he engaged in business as a stove-dealer, at 221 River Street, still residing in West Troy. The date of his death has not been ascertained.

78. *Obv.* ✻ . W . A . HANDY . ✻ above, and · WHOLESALE & RETAIL · below. In field, MERCHANT TAILOR An ornament above and below. *Rev.* N° 1 WASHINGTON ROW PROVIDENCE R. I. Eagle E PLURIBUS UNUM on label above (type of Half Dollar of the period); below, 1834 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

79. *Obv.* Inscription in ten lines, PLANK PLANED | ⇒ & ⇐ | MATCHED BY | W. P. HASKINS | 435 RIVER ST | TROY N. Y. | ALSO GROUND NOVA | SCOTIA PLASTER | FOR SALE | 1834 *Rev.* · LAFAYETTE, A FRIEND TO AMERICA & FREEDOM · Lafayette,

standing, with hat and cane in right hand, on ground signed H at *r.*; below, DIED MAY 20 | 1834 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

Struck by H. M. and E. I. Richards, of Attleboro, Mass., as were also all which use this Lafayette die. This standing figure of America's friend, is from an engraving after Ary Scheffer's celebrated painting, and attained great popularity in the United States.

80. *Obv.* Same as No. 79. *Rev.* Legend, WOODWORTH'S PATENT above, and PLANING MACHINE below, completing the circle. A planing machine, above, MADE BY | S. B. SCHENCK and below, ATTLEBORO | MASS. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

81. *Obv.* HOWELL WORKS GARDEN. In the field, a bunch of grapes with stem and leaves. *Rev.* Signum | 1834 Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 22.

The Howell Works had their origin in an establishment called the Monmouth Furnace, founded in Howell, Monmouth Co., N. J. (now Allaire), in 1814; about 1822 James P. Allaire took possession, changing the name to Howell Works, under which title they were carried on for about twenty-five years. Mr. Allaire died in 1858. A few years before his death it became the Allaire Works, famous for its marine engines, etc., the fine workmanship of which gave them a wide reputation. In this concern the well known John Roach began his career. Just what relation the Garden had to the Works does not appear, but that it was connected with them in some way we have on good authority. Another, different and without date, will be found in the last group of undated pieces. From the device the token bears it was very likely a social resort of the workmen, under control of the Company. These tokens, as well as "shin plasters" for various denominations, were used as currency. The paper bills were engraved by Rawdon, Wright, Hatch and Edson, of New York, and were for 6¼, 12½ cents, $3, $5 and $10, and possibly other denominations, payable to bearer and signed by the President of the "Howell Works Co."

82. *Obv.* PUECH · BEIN | & CO. | NEW ORLEANS | 1834 The second line so weakly struck, that it is often barely if at all visible. *Rev.* IMPORTERS | OF | HARDWARES | GUNS & PISTOLS | CUTLERY &C Borders 6. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 25½.

83. *Obv.* Inscription in eight lines, H M & E I. RICHARDS | MANUFACTURERS | • OF • | JEWELRY | NEAR THE | UNION HOUSE | ATTLEBORO | MASS. A sprig of olive (?) leaves at either side. All the lines curve downward. *Rev.* From the same die as No. 79. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

The firm by which this token was struck was composed of Henry Manning and E. Ira Richards, who were cousins; the first named was a son of Ira Richards, who originated the business of making jewelry at Attleboro, Mass., about 1815; the cousins were employed by him until 1830, when they formed a partnership under the above style, which they conducted there for a few years; they then dissolved and each carried on the same business separately; in 1837 H. M. Richards went to Philadelphia, and continued the same occupation there for five or six years. Later, I believe, he returned to Attleboro,

but in February, 1863, moved to Boston, where he established himself on Green Street, and not long afterward admitted his son, Eugene H. Richards, into partnership; the father died July 19, 1886, but the son continued at the same place, with a New York office on Broadway, until very recently, when failing health obliged him to withdraw from the management. The junior partner, Edmund Ira, some years after the dissolution, admitted his son E. Ira Richards, Jr., into the firm, and opened an office in New York, on Nassau Street, and later on Broadway, while Frank Richards, another son, I believe, still carries on the business of his father at North Attleboro. Many thousand pieces were struck by these firms, and shipped in kegs to customers at prices varying from 60 to 75 cents per hundred, until the business was finally stopped, as Mr. E. H. Richards informed me, by the Government. He remarks that his father told him the pieces were early known as "Bungtowns," in that vicinity.

Some further notes relative to the origin of this word "Bungtown" have lately come to me, which may as well be given here. It is evident from various sources that the name, as applied to these pieces, was common in the vicinity of Attleboro, and the towns near Providence, R. I., more than fifty years ago, whether originating there or not. They are so styled in the *Providence Journal*, in November, 1848, which says in substance, that Bungtown was the name of a village otherwise called Barneysville, in Rehoboth, Mass., on Palmer's River. This was very likely the basis on which Prof. Schele de Vere, and Mr. John R. Bartlett in his "Dictionary of Americanisms," as cited by Dr. Green in the *Journal of Numismatics* for October, 1898, made their statement that the name came from Barneysville. That village, however, was in the neighboring town of Swansea, Mass., and took its name from a firm or individuals of the name of Barney, who built small vessels in the early part of this century on the stream now known as Warren's River, which empties into Narraganset Bay. In the correspondence referred to, these parties are said to have cast, in sand-moulds, fac-similes of the English Halfpennies of that period and circulated them as Cents; to these clumsy products the name of Bungtowns was given, from the popular name of the village where the Barneys lived; thence the title later passed to the Hard Times Tokens, unquestionably so abundantly produced in that vicinity. Whether this story is true, I do not pretend to decide, but it is plausible, to say the least, and there is no doubt of the common use of the name in that neighborhood, at the time of which I am speaking. In Judd's "Margaret," first published I believe in 1845, Bungtown Coppers are mentioned. The name, for a half century or more, has been used as synonymous with worthlessness, but if the foregoing account (which was written some ten years or more ago by a gentleman who lived in that vicinity and has recently been handed me), is correct, the original Bungtowns were intrinsically worth more than the coins they imitated!

84. *Obv.* Same as rev. of No. 80 (S. B. Schenck.) *Rev.* · THIS MACHINE IS CAPABLE OF PLANING TONGING · In field, ∽ & ∽ | GROOVING, | OR JOINTING, | OR RABBITING, | 18 FEET OF BOARDS | OR PLANK IN A | MINUTE | 1834. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½, 29.

85. *Obv.* J. HALL WALKER & WALTON In field, IMPORTERS OF | AND DEALEARS (*sic*) IN | HARDWARE AND | SHIP CHANDLERY | Nº 17 NEW LEVEE | NEW ORLEANS | 1834 *Rev.* FINE CUTLERY, | GUNS, PISTOLS, | IRON, NAILS & CASTINGS | BURR BLOCKS, | MILL STONES &C. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal B. Size 33.

86. *Obv.* S. L. WILKINS | DEALER IN | BOOTS, SHOES, | & SHOE STOCK. | HATS, CAPS, FURS &C | 22 MERRIMACK ST | LOWELL | MASS. *Rev.* Same as No. 79. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

The dies of this token were made by H. M. & E. I. Richards.

Samuel L. Wilkins is given in the Lowell Directory as a dealer in boots, shoes, hats, etc., at No. 22 Merrimack Street, in 1832; he advertised in the same year that he had a large assortment of French and American Paper-hangings. He removed to No. 21 in 1836, where he remained six or seven years, and then retiring from business removed to Bedford, where he resided before going to Lowell. His name is found in a list of "Prominent men and firms in Lowell between 1822 and 1833," but just when he began business on his own account does not appear; he was previously a clerk for a Mr. Critchett, a boot and shoe dealer.

1835.

87. *Obv.* O. & P. BOUTWELL | ✱ | ✱ Nº 7 ✱ | GRAND | DIVISION ST. | ✱ TROY N. Y. ✱ | ✱ ✱ 1835 ✱ ✱ *Rev.* ✱ BAKERS & ✱ above, and CONFECTIONERS. below. A sheaf of wheat; below, ✱ T within a circle of pellets. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The borders have a short pointed milling, and at a greater distance apart on reverse than on obverse. The dies were cut by True, of Albany.[1]

"O. & P." are the initials of Oliver and Phardice. Oliver began business as a baker at 314 River Street, Troy, in 1831; in 1833 he moved to 7 Grand Division Street, and in 1836 he admitted his brother to partnership; the following year Oliver withdrew and in 1839 established himself as a miller near the "Sloop Lock," continuing alone until after the Civil War. Subsequently the style was O. Boutwell & Son, and later the Boutwell Milling & Grain Co., which still exists.

88. *Obv.* A female head *r.* with coronet inscribed TROY Fourteen stars around border (none below head). *Rev.* BUCKLIN'S INTEREST TABLES ✱ within a wreath of oak and olive leaves, 18·35 | — | T ✱ (both very small). Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27½.

Dies by True. The obverse border is coarser than that on the reverse.

There were two die-cutters in Troy named True, — Benjamin C. and Daniel; judging by the appearance of their names in the Directories, the first was the elder, but whether relatives or not, I have not found. Benjamin C. was a "letter cutter," having a shop at 7 Beaver Street, and residence at 134 Lydius Street. as early as 1832; in 1834 he is called a gunsmith, and in 1835 a die-cutter, at 7 Beaver

1 See comments on Nos. 88 and 93.

Street, "up-stairs"; in 1840 he added to his business as a die-cutter that of a "military store keeper,"—perhaps making military buttons, —and his store was 88 North Market Street, if the notes furnished me are correct. In 1842–4 he was in business with J. Roseboom & Co., on Church and Division Streets, but I have not been able to trace him further. Daniel True was a die-cutter at 48 Union Street as early as 1837, and continues to do business as such at various locations, in time adding that of seal engraving, until 1856, when he seems to have been the senior partner in the firm of True & Pilkington, and his address was "Bleecker Hall;" in 1858 he was at the same location, alone; in 1868, the same name, —presumably the same person — appears as a die-cutter and steel engraver, on Hudson Street, and afterwards at 396 Broadway until 1879. The work of this engraver (whether Benjamin or Daniel is uncertain), as shown on these tokens, is not of a very high order.

89. *Obv.* A female head *r.* ill-shaped and poorly executed, inscribed TROY within a circle of fourteen stars uniformly spaced, bringing two beneath the head. *Rev.* Same as No. 88. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27½.

Borders have the same difference as No. 88. Dies by True.

90. *Obv.* A female head *l.* inscribed TROY, *without* stars. *Rev.* Same as No. 88. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27½.

Dies by True.

91. *Obv.* A head similar to No. 89, but more shapely. Fourteen stars quite distant from edge, none directly below the bust. *Rev.* Same as No. 88. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

92. *Obv.* BUCKLIN'S BOOK KEEPING ✻ within a wreath of oak leaves and acorns, TROY | —; below, a very small head *l.* *Rev.* Same as No. 88. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27½, 28½.

This piece is rarely found struck with all parts brought out, and is often badly centered, while the border of the obverse shows re-cutting, first appearing light and scant, afterwards full and heavy. For a note on Bucklin see No. 77.

93. *Obv.* Same as No. 92. *Rev.* BUCKLIN'S INTEREST TABLES . ✻ and within a circle of fourteen stars, 1835 | — | TRUE ALB. ; an ornament above and below. Borders, obv. 4, rev. 1. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

Why True signs himself as of Albany on this piece, I do not know. He may have had a branch office there, or Daniel, if this be his work, may have begun business in that city, as he is not found at Troy so early. It seems hardly probable that there was a third engraver of the name.

94. *Obv.* CLARK & ANTHONY | JEWELERS | ⸗ & ⸗ | WATCHMAKERS | Nos 25 & 27 | CHEAPSIDE | PROVIDENCE | ⸗ R. I ⸗ | 1835 a small branch at either side. *Rev.* Same as No. 79. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

From the late Mr. Lorenzo D. Anthony, who died in Boston (Dorchester), March 19, 1897, I learned that the firm of Clark & Anthony were in business at 25 and 27 Cheapside, Providence, R. I., from 1827 to 1836. when it dissolved and was not continued under any other style. Mr. Clark died about thirty years ago. But one order was given for these tokens, of which 36,000 were struck in Attleboro, Mass., by H. M. & E. I. Richards, of that town, at a cost of $270.00. It may interest the reader to know that while the study of the history of these tokens was in progress, a little more than a year before the death of Mr. Anthony, one of them was submitted to him for inspection. I believe he was the last survivor of the various firms and individuals who issued the pieces of this series.



95. *Obv.* MERCHANTS EXCHANGE WALL St N. YORK Front view of building, with cupola. Below, BUILT 1827 | BURNT 1835 *Rev.* Same as No. 31. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The "Merchants' Exchange" in Wall Street, New York, was begun in 1825, and completed and occupied May 1, 1827; until that time the "Tontine Coffee House," on the same street, which was built by the merchants in 1792, was used as a public exchange. The building as represented on the token differs considerably from the elaborate affair which was engraved on the "shin-plasters" issued by the "Exchange Company" in 1837; the latter had on its front a much more ornate portico with six Corinthian columns, and the wings on either side were fronted by porticoes having six Ionic pillars sustaining a frieze and pediment. The bills advertised the office of "The New York Joint Stock Exchange" as located at No. 6 Tontine Building, Wall Street, but the name Exchange finally displaced that. If we can trust the picture, it was surrounded by quite extensive grounds with trees and shrubbery, enclosed by a fence and entered by a somewhat pretentious gateway. The building was destroyed by fire December 16, 1835.

96. *Obv.* Same as No. 95. *Rev.* Same as No. 33. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

97. *Obv.* Same as No. 95. *Rev.* Close copy of No. 33, without the dash under CENT Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The first upright of N in CENT on fully one-half of this issue, is unfinished; the space between the left arm and the upright of T in the same word is solid, showing that the steel die gave way at that point in cutting, or early in use.

98. *Obv.* MERCHANTS above, and EXCHANGE below. Front view of new Exchange, with dome. *Rev.* NEW YORK JOINT above, and * EXCHANGE COMPANY * below. In field, within a circle, N° 6 | TONTINE | BUILDING | WALL | ST? Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½, 29.

99. *Obv.* WALSH'S | GENERAL STORE | LANSINGBURGH | (N. Y) | 1835 an ornament on each side. *Rev.* SPEED THE PLOUGH above, and * IT FEEDS ALL * below. A plough on the ground at *l.* Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28, 28¾.

Alexander Walsh was one of the most prominent merchants in Rensselaer Co., N. Y., for more than forty years. His store was widely known as "Walsh's Museum," from the extent and variety of his stock; his "Plough Penny," struck in 1835, circulated freely through all of Northern New York. He participated in the ceremonies on the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 by the invitation of Gov. DeWitt Clinton, whom he accompanied on the first boat, and received with the other guests one of the silver medals struck to commemorate the event. In 1839 he entertained Henry Clay at his home in Lansingburgh. He retired from business in 1846, and died August 4, 1849. He was greatly interested in agricultural matters, and a frequent contributor to journals devoted to farming and horticulture. A letter written by him to the New York Horticultural Society, and published in the *American Mail*, June 10, 1833, under the heading "Rural Cemeteries," led to the purchase and establishment of Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, as is shown by the editorial remarks printed therewith.

100. *Obv.* Same as No. 99. *Rev.* Same as No. 79. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28, 28¾.

101. *Obv.* ∽ WALSH'S ∽ | GENERAL STORE | LANSINBURG (*sic*) | NEW–YORK | ⇝1835⇜ Branch with three leaves and twigs at either side. *Rev.* Same as No. 79. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½, 28¾.

The pellets around border of reverse are rather smaller than on obverse.

The three preceding tokens were struck by H. M. & E. I. Richards.

1836.

102. *Obv.* HUCKEL BURROWS & JENNINGS In field, DEALERS | IN | GROCERIES | CHOICE WINES | &C &C. below, 1836 *Rev.* BOAT STORES | AND | SHIP CHANDLERY | MAIN STREET | S^{T} LOUIS Borders 2. Edge 1. Metal, B. and W. Size 29.

This card is found with the name of Huckel erased on the piece.

It has been impossible to obtain particulars concerning the various Southern and Western firms whose tokens have been preserved; some of the pieces are positively known to have been struck in New York, others were very likely made at Waterbury, Ct., or in New Jersey, and all were probably forwarded by sailing vessels from New York to Southern ports through the Northern correspondents of the firms using them. This theory seems to be confirmed by the comparative rarity of a number of these tokens, as well as by their condition and the different metals in which they are found. Those of this class which occasionally appear may thus be supposed to be remnants or samples retained by manufacturers, which gradually passed into the hands of collectors. Such for example, I take it, is the preceding number, as well as Nos. 82, 85, and several others which need not be particularly indicated here, but tell their own story.

103. *Obv.* Same as No. 75. *Rev.* COPY OF A GOLD MEDAL | AWARDED TO | R & W ROBINSON, | FOR THE BEST | MILITARY, NAVAL, | SPORTING, | & PLAIN FLAT | BUTTONS | 1836 All in curved lines. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28¼.

The F in OF and the E in MEDAL seem to have been destroyed in cutting, as on all I have seen these letters appear as blocks.

104. *Obv.* Same as No. 75. *Rev.* A good copy of No. 103, but the words and lines are differently spaced, and the date further from BUTTONS. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28, 28½.

105. *Obv.* Copy of No. 75. The wreath held by Commerce is opposite M in AMERICA; the Liberty cap, below S in INSTITUTE; there is a hyphen between NEW and YORK, and other unimportant differences appear when impressions of the two are brought together, but which cannot be clearly described. *Rev.* Same as No. 103. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

106. *Obv.* WALTON, WALKER & CO In field, IMPORTERS OF | AND DEALERS IN | HARDWARES AND | SHIP CHANDLERY | N^{O} 17 NEW LEVEE | NEW ORLEANS Below, 1836

Rev. FINE CUTLERY | GUNS, PISTOLS | IRON NAILS, CASTINGS | DUPONTS POWDER | MILL STONES | &C . &C . &C . Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal, Brass. Size 34.

The dies of this card were cut by Bale & Smith. This firm was perhaps the most widely known of any of the engravers in New York city. It originally consisted of Wright & Bale, and they carried on business as early as 1829 at 68 William Street, as appears from a Store Card by which they advertised themselves; the date does not appear thereon, but it is fixed by the Directory of that year. The next two years, 1830, '31, they were at 16 Maiden Lane; they then removed to 68 Nassau Street, where from 1835 to '38 the style was Bale & Smith; they probably removed in 1839 to 96 Fulton Street, where the Directory places them 1840–47. "James Bale" signed alone as "Bale" on Bucklin's card, No. 77, dated 1834, and on others as late as 1844, while he was associated with Smith; yet *Bale & Smith* and *B. & S.* frequently appear during the same period. Many Southern and Western merchants obtained their Store Cards in New York, as has been mentioned above.

1837.

107. *Obv.* A double legend, having in the outer circle HENRY ANDERSON above, and * MAMMOTH BOOT * below; in an inner circle, CHATHAM SQUARE above, and N. YORK below. A boot *r.* *Rev.* HENRY ANDERSON above, and . CHEAP BOOT & SHOE STORE . below. In field, CHATHAM | SQUARE | NEW YORK | 1837 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The A in ANDERSON and MAMMOTH are the only complete A's on this card; the others are without crossbars, thus, A. The A in SQUARE on the obverse is filled from the crossbar to point on perhaps one-quarter of the issue, showing that the die was bruised or gave way at this place.

108. *Obv.* ★★★ SODA WATER ★★★ A flower vase on a pedestal; below, 1837 *Rev.* R. L. BAKER above, and * CHARLESTON . S. C * below. In field, within a circle, GOOD FOR | * 1 * | . GLASS . Borders 5. Edge 2. Metal, Feuchtwanger's. Size 19.

109. *Obv.* BENEDICT & BURNHAM above, and * WATERBURY CONN * below. An eagle similar to that on Half Dollar of 1836; above, E PLURIBUS UNUM on label; below 1837 *Rev.* MANUFACTURERS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION * In field, OF | GILT BUTTONS | SHEET & | PLATERS BRASS | &C Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27½.

This is one of the oldest firms in the business in which they are engaged, and their successors, who formed a company some time ago, retain the firm name in the title "Benedict & Burnham Mfg. Co.," having offices in the larger cities, and manufacturing brass, German silver, nickel, etc., into tubing, wire.

stamped goods and various metallic products. Whether they struck many of the Hard Times Tokens in the period under notice is somewhat doubtful, but later a great number of Shop Cards were made by them, especially those in brass from 1845 to 1857. In 1887 they supplied the U. S. Government with 20,000 pounds of planchets for the nickel five cent coins.





110. *Obv.* Same as No. 34. *Rev.* CENTRE MARKET above, and ACCOMMODATION below. Front and side view of a building with columns. Below, 14TH WARD | N. YORK all within a circle. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The crossbar of A in WARD is incomplete on the reverse of this variety, but it is perfect on the following.

The name of the individual who founded this Market has not been learned. In March, 1897, the property owners on Centre Street, in the vicinity of this old Market, took steps to secure legislation to erect a municipal building on the site it had so long occupied, which however has not yet materialized.

111. *Obv.* Same as No. 32. *Rev.* Same as No. 110. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28¼.

112. *Obv.* Same as No. 29. *Rev.* H. CROSSMAN | MANUFA CTURER | N° 92½ | CHATHAM ST N Y. An umbrella opened. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28¼, 28½.

Henry Crossman was a manufacturer of umbrellas as above from 1830 until 1841, after which date he was located at various other places. In 1857, while at 63 Liberty Street the firm became H. Crossman & Co. In 1860 they were at 94 Warren Street.

113. *Obv.* An eagle with a shield on his breast, standing on an olive branch and arrows; below, 1837 within a circle of thirteen stars. *Rev.* Same as No. 112. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

114. *Obv.* Same as No. 28. *Rev.* A double legend surrounding an inscription in five lines; the outer circle is J. H. DAYTON'S, UNION STEAM WASHING EST * the inner

circle, 17TH ST NEAR 5TH AVENUE above, and * N. Y. * below. In the field, WASHING | DONE FOR | SHIPS, ST. BOATS | HOTELS & | PRIVATE FAMILIES Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The edge on the reverse is but slightly raised.

John H. Dayton is given in the Directory for 1837 as at the above address; later one of the same name, perhaps the same person, is found at several other locations, as a ship-carpenter, appearing for the last time in 1852 at 141 Charles Street.

115. *Obv.* · P B & S · DEVEAU'S 156 CHATHAM SQUARE above, and N . YORK completing the circle. Female head *l.*, similar to No. 34. *Rev.* In outer circle, WHOLESALE & RETAIL BOOT & SHOE STORE ⇐ Inner circle, 156 CHATHAM SQUARE . N . Y . A boot *r.*, below, 1837 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

A in WHOLESALE is the only A on reverse which has a crossbar.

Peter B. & S. Deveau were at 156 Chatham Street 1831–50; they then removed to 74 Forsyth Street, where they remained until 1858.

116. *Obv.* ✵ | EAST | ✵ ✵ | BOSTON | ✵ ✵ | 1837 ✵ *Rev.* * MAVERICK * | ✵ | · COACH · | ✵ | * · * 1837 * · * Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal, Feuchtwanger's. Size 18½.

The obverse die of this piece was muled with several Providence issues of 1864 by H. Dobson, and at least one in silver, but it is doubtful if these later impressions were intended for circulation.

From the earliest times the name of Maverick has been associated with East Boston, anciently Noddle's Island, which is now a part of the city of Boston; this island was granted to Samuel Maverick in 1633. Frequent reference is made to him in the early history of New England, and his name is still commemorated by "Maverick Square" and in other ways, in that part of the city. The East Boston Coaches, or "omnibuses" as they were formerly called, at one time ran from the ferry to other points in that district.

117. *Obv.* EXCELSIOR Arms of the State of New York. Below, 1837 *Rev.* FEUCHTWANGER'S COMPOSITION Within an olive wreath, * ✵ * | THREE | CENTS | * ✵ * Borders 5. Edge 2. Metal, Feuchtwanger's. Size 25.

Dr. Lewis Feuchtwanger's first business location appears to have been at 377 Broadway, where he remained from 1831 to 1837; thereafter, until 1857, his changes were numerous, and, considering the limits of the city within that period, he may be said to have roved widely. He is given in the Directories

twelve different addresses, ranging from No. 1 Wall Street to 21 White Street, three of which are in Maiden Lane. He was the inventor of an alloyed metal, resembling "German silver," which he hoped to induce the Government to adopt for minor coinage. He was a druggist and chemist, and in 1832 in addition to this business he also sold natural curiosities, such as rare minerals, gems, preserved reptiles, etc., a large collection of which he placed on exhibition at Peale's Museum, and the "New York Lyceum of Natural History." At his Broadway store, "one door below White Street," he advertised "Nuremberg Salve" and "Kreosote . . . a recent German discovery for preventing tooth-ache." These nostrums seem to have been highly esteemed in their time.

118. *Obv.* An eagle *l.*, wings raised, standing on a rock. Below, 1837 *Rev.* FEUCHTWANGER'S above, and * COMPOSITION * below. Within an olive wreath, THREE | CENTS Borders 5. Edge 2. Metal, Feuchtwanger's. Size 25.

119. *Obv.* Copy of No. 118, but the eagle and rocks are smaller and the date larger. *Rev.* FEUCHTWANGER'S COMPOSITION and within an oak wreath open at the top, 3 | THREE | CENTS Borders 5. Edge 2. Metal, Feuchtwanger's. Size 25.

The reverse of this piece was used in 1864, with a new obverse.

120. *Obv.* Type of No. 118, with eagle standing *r.* and holding a serpent in his talons; below, 1837 *Rev.* FEUCHTWANGER'S above, and * COMPOSITION below. Within an olive wreath, ONE | CENT Borders 5. Edge 2. Metal, Feuchtwanger's. Size 18½.

There are *many* varieties of this number. As an instance, in a lot of specimens I found four obverses and six reverses, all differing; but the variations are so slight that they cannot be described, yet are perceptible when the pieces are brought together. Examples are found composed of two reverse dies, and the regular issue has a plain edge; both are rare. I have also seen a specimen measuring 19½.

121. *Obv.* * NATHAN . C . FOLGER . * above, and NEW-ORLEANS . below. In field, DEALER IN | READY MADE | CLOTHING, HATS, | BOOTS, SHOES &C | Nº 33 OLD LEVEE | CORNER OF | BIENVILL Sᵀ *Rev.* * BOYS AND | CHILDREN'S CLOTHING | STOCKS, HANDKERCHIEFS | GLOVES, UMBRELLAS | CARPET-BAGS, | TRUNKS &C | 1837 | B & S. * N. Y. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal, Brass. Size 34.

The dies were by Bale & Smith. Mr. Folger is presumed to have been a descendant of the well-known Nantucket family, of which the late Chief Justice of New York was also a member.

122. *Obv.* Same as No. 32. *Rev.* GEORGE A JARVIS above, and * WINE & TEA DEALER * below. In field, 142 | GRAND | CORNER OF | ELM STREET | NEW YORK Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28¼.

George A. Jarvis succeeded the firm of Peckwell & Jarvis, at 150 Grand Street, in 1827. During the following year he removed to 142, on the same street, where he remained until 1838; from 1839 to 1858 he is recorded at 81 Front Street.

123. *Obv.* Same as No. 30. *Rev.* A good copy of No. 122, but with leaves in place of the six-pointed stars. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28¼.

124. *Obv.* NATH^L MARCH | BOOKSELLER & | STATIONER | N^o 7 EXCHANGE | BUILDINGS | PORTSMOUTH | N. H | 1837 *Rev.* WILLIAM SIMES & CO | DEALERS IN | TEAS, WINES, & | GROCERIES . | N^o 1 . PEIRCE'S | BUILDINGS | PORTSMOUTH | N. H Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28¼, 29.

This seems to have been a joint enterprise of the two concerns, as neither obverse nor reverse has been noticed in combination with any other die. Nathaniel March was born in Portsmouth, N. H., June 14, 1807, and died July 19, 1846. While a young man he became junior partner of Childs & March, succeeding Childs & Sparhawk; Mr. Childs withdrew not long after, and the style was Nathaniel March & Co., until about 1839, when it became Nathaniel March, and so remained until his death. Samuel A. Badger continued the business and was succeeded by John S. Harvey, with whom it practically closed.

William Simes was born in Portsmouth, April 9, 1806, and died May 15, 1880. He began business in 1828, and had as partners at different times Thos. E. Call and Henry F. Gerrish; he sold out his business in 1860, to Moulton & Blaisdell. Their successors have continued it to the present time, Mr. John Laighton being the last representative of whom I have knowledge. The successors of both firms named on the token remained at the original location. Mr. Simes was chosen Mayor of Portsmouth in 1861 and '62, but declined a third nomination; he was also an officer in various financial institutions. Only one order for these tokens was given, as the pieces were declared illegal and their circulation as money suppressed. The accounts of their place of striking given me are conflicting, Providence and Albany having been named; I am convinced that they were made in neither city, but are the work of H. M. & E. I. Richards [See No. 83], of Attleboro, Mass., which is near Providence, and this fact gave rise to the tradition that they were struck in the latter city.

125. *Obv.* Same as No. 29. *Rev.* S. MAYCOCK & C^o above, and · 35 CITY HALL PLACE N – Y · below. In field, EVERPOINTED | ⊹⊹ | PENCIL CASE | MANUFACTURERS | SAM^L MAYCOCK | JOHN HAGUE | ⊹⊹ Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

The dashes are imitated as closely as may be with the material available.

126. *Obv.* Eagle, same as No. 113. *Rev.* Same as No. 125. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

127. *Obv.* PHALONS | NEW | & | SPLENDID | STYLE | OF | HAIR CUTTING A branch at either side of SPLENDID *Rev.* N° 35 BOWERY above, and NEW YORK below. In field, a pair of scissors, and above, a comb; below, 1837 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28¼.

Edward Phalon probably began his business as hair-dresser at 161 Chatham Street in 1834; from that date until 1860 his change of location occurred at least eleven times, among them being that to the Bowery, indicated on the token. In 1842 he was opposite St. Paul's, at 214 Broadway, where he sold the "Amazon Toupee," for which and for his "Wigs and Scalps" the American Institute awarded him a silver medal in 1841, and the first premium in 1842. In 1848 he was at 61 Broadway, where he advertised extensively a famous "Chemical Hair Invigorator." The height of his prosperity was reached when, after several other removals, he occupied a gorgeous shop in the St. Nicholas Hotel, where the prices charged for service and for the various cosmetics which he offered for sale, were in accordance with the brilliancy of the numerous mirrors, the gilded frames, the marble basins, and their silver-plated fixtures, which adorned the place. Here he remained until the hotel was closed. His "Night-blooming Cereus" was perhaps the most widely known, as it was the last of his successes before his retirement. I had a pleasant interview with him in 1886, though he could give me little information about his card.

128. *Obv.* From one of the dies of 120. *Rev.* ✶ R. E. RUSSELL ✶ above, and ★ ✶ ✶ ★ ✶ ✶ ★ below, completing the circle. In field, ✚ ✵ ✚ | I · O · U | 12½C Borders 5. Edge 2. Metal, Feuchtwanger's. Size 18½.

129. *Obv.* ROXBURY above, and · COACHES · below. In field, ✵ *Rev.* · NEW LINE · above, and ✶· 1837 ·✶ below. In field, an ornate cross. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal, Feuchtwanger's. Size 18½.

The "Roxbury Coaches" were those which ran through what is now Washington Street, Boston, over "the Neck," to the top of the hill in Roxbury where once stood the old church in which the Apostle Eliot preached, in the ancient days of New England. The Norfolk House, a famous hostelry on the opposite side of the street, was their stopping place until the line was discontinued. These coaches were long omnibuses, carrying sixteen to twenty persons inside, and were drawn by four horses; at first they made hourly trips, and hence were called the "Roxbury Hourlies." They were handsomely painted, and on their sides bore a distinguishing name — "Regulator," "Conqueror," and one, the "Aurora," with the goddess in her cloud-borne chariot on its yellow sides, made a great impression on the juvenile mind when it first appeared. For a long time a Mr. King managed the business; later he met with opposition from a line of coaches of more modern style, like the New York "stages," which was started, I believe,

by Mr. Hobbs, and made more frequent trips. The Roxbury Coaches continued to run for a short time after the horse-cars were introduced as competitors on the same route, but finally succumbed to the "march of improvement" about 1856, if memory serves.

130. *Obv.* J • M • L & W • H . SCOVILL above, and ➳ WATERBURY CON ➴ below. A phoenix rising from flames; below, 1837 *Rev.* GILT BUTTONS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION ✱ In field, SHEET BRASS | PLATED METAL | & | GOLD PLATE Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

This firm, which was established in Waterbury, Conn., in 1802, made many "Hard Times Tokens." Later they struck numerous shop cards, and several of those not bearing merchants' names, such as the "Female head" with various reverses, — a phoenix, "Merchant's Exchange," "Not One Cent," etc., have been attributed to them. It still carries on the business of manufacturing buttons and various products of brass and other metals under the style of the Scovill Manufacturing Co., in Waterbury, with offices in New York, Boston and elsewhere.

Mr. James Mitchell Lamson Scovill, the senior partner of the old firm, was born in Waterbury, Sept. 4, 1789, and died May 15, 1857. His widow died at a very advanced age, Oct. 21, 1896. Mr. Scovill began business with Fred'k Leavenworth and David Hayden, under the style of Leavenworth, Hayden & Scovill, early in the present century. William Henry Scovill, a younger brother, was born July 27, 1796, and died March 27, 1854. He formed a copartnership with his brother in 1827, making buttons until 1840, when this branch was separated from their other business of work in metal, and conducted under the style of Scovill & Co. until 1850, while the original firm manufactured rolled brass and brass wire; and when the daguerreotype process was introduced about 1842, they made plates for that purpose. In 1836 with a brother-in-law, Buckingham, they began the manufacture of brass hinges under the style of Scovill & Buckingham. In 1850 all these concerns were united in the Scovill Mfg. Co. The brothers endowed the Scovill Professorship of Chemistry in Trinity College, Hartford, and were generous contributors to matters of public interest as well as those of private beneficence.

A very kind invitation was given me to visit their works, to inspect the collection of pieces struck by them, and to have an interview with the gentleman who has them in charge and is familiar with their history; and I greatly regret that I have not yet been able to accept their courtesy.

131. *Obv.* A. C. SMITH | DEALER | IN | CROCKERY, GLASS, | CHINA & BRITANNIA & WARE, | LOOKING | GLASSES &C. | DOVER, N. H | 1837 *Rev.* HASELTON & PALMER above, and DOVER, N. H. below. In field, DEALERS | IN | DRY-GOODS, | GROCERIES & | STRAW-BONNETS | Nº 2 COCHECO | BLOCK Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

This token like that of Portsmouth (March and Simes, No. 124), seems to have been a joint enterprise, but I have not learned its history; probably it was suppressed for similar reasons.

132. *Obv.* E. F. SISE & CO | GENERAL | COMMISSION, | AND FORWARDING | MERCHANTS. | PORTSMOUTH | ✱ N H ✱ *Rev.* IMPORTERS | OF | CROCKERY | ➳ AND ➴ |

GLASS WARE | DEALERS | ➔ IN ➔ | COAL | 1837 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½, 29.

Edward F. Sise, the founder of the firm by whom these tokens were issued, was born in Dover, N. H., Sept. 19, 1799, and died May 25, 1868; the "Co." was Mr. John Walker, whose interest at first was nominal, but when Mr. Sise withdrew from the firm about 1854, Mr. Walker succeeded with Messrs. William H. and Joseph Sise. The following year Mr. Walker retired; he died about 1883. Mr. Joseph Sise died Feb. 14, 1894, and the surviving partner continued under the original style, as a commission merchant, dealing in coal and salt. The firm have occupied the same premises since 1822. He wrote in May, 1895, that the dies were made at Albany, and that only one issue was ever struck. Another member of the family has informed me that the dies were cut in Providence, R. I., but the workmanship clearly shows, in my judgment, that the tokens were made by H. M. & E. I. Richards, of Attleboro, Mass.

133. *Obv.* TIME | IS | MONEY The face of a clock; the short or hour hand touches the *r.* part of X; the long or minute hand points to *l.* of third minute mark after II. *Rev.* SMITHS | CLOCK | ESTABLISHMENT | N° 7½ | BOWERY | NEW YORK | 1837 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28, 28½.

There is a slight break in the reverse die, at the bottom of the date, extending *l.* and following the border towards E in ESTABLISHMENT.

Andrew B. Smith advertised in the *New York Examiner*, in June, 1837, that he was located at the corner of the Bowery and Division Street, New York, "up stairs, third story, entrance 7½ Bowery." In November of the following year the style of the firm was changed to A. B. Smith & Co.; in 1841 the partnership was conducted as "Smith & Brothers," and they announced that they had established a branch house at 9 North Fifth Street, Philadelphia.

134. *Obv.* Same design as No. 133; the hour hand points to the centre of X; the minute hand between the first and second minute mark after II; the space between I and S in the second line is the widest of the series. *Rev.* Same as No. 133. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

135. *Obv.* Same as No. 133. *Rev.* Similar to No. 133. The word ESTABLISHMENT is curved; NEW and YORK are near together and in larger letters than on the preceding. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

136. *Obv.* A close copy of No. 133. The minute hand points to the third mark following II; the V in VIII points to the centre of M in MONEY. *Rev.* Similar to No.

135 but differently spaced; a short dash below o in Nº; a floral ornament at either side. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

137. *Obv.* Similar to No. 133. The minute hand points at the space between the second and third mark after 11. The circle around the pivot on which the two hands turn, is composed of eleven dots. *Rev.* Same as No. 135. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

138. *Obv.* Same as No. 137. *Rev.* Similar to No. 136; the spacing between the lines differs slightly; the floral ornaments are much larger. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

139. *Obv.* S S B above two leaves horizontally placed, and joined by a cross; below, 1837. Border composed of small leaves. *Rev.* Four leaves in the form of a cross, crossed by four small, plain leaves. Border, sixteen leaves with two small ones alternating. Edge 1. Metal, Brass. Size 19.

Neither the place of issue nor the name of the person who caused it to be struck has been discovered.

140. *Obv.* A head *l.*, wearing a coronet on which is LIBERTY; below, 1837. Thirteen stars around the border. This is a copy after the United States Cent of the period. *Rev.* EZRA B. SWEET NO. 200 CANAL STREET, NEW-YORK In the field, STOVE | & | KITCHEN | FURNITURE | WAREHOUSE, | — | TIN, COPPER, | AND ZINC | ROOFING Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 27½.

Rather crude work, in the lettering especially. G in ROOFING quite linked with A in CANAL.

Mr. Ezra B. Sweet was in active business life in New York City from 1825 to 1852; during this period his change of address occurs twelve times. He was at 200 Canal Street, the location named on the token, from 1836 to 1839. In addition to the business advertised on this card, the "ETC." included that of "Bell-founder" and "Plumber."

141. *Obv.* and *Rev.* From the same dies as the last, but struck on a larger and thicker planchet. Size 28½.

142. *Obv.* BERGEN IRON WORKS above, and below, completing the circle, ★ STORE ★ An eagle, with wings spread, on a section of wire cable. *Rev.* BONÆ FIDEI SIGNUM (A token of good faith.) Two hands with cuffs, joined in the centre of a radiation; below, 1840 Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal, Brass. Size 21.

The Bergen Iron Works were located in what is now Ocean County, formerly a part of Monmouth County, New Jersey, at a place once known as Bricksburg, now called Lakewood. They have long ceased working, but I have been informed that some remains of the old buildings may still be seen not far from a point where the railroad crosses Metetecunk River, about four miles from the northern end of Barnegat Bay. Sixty years or more ago the forges and furnaces in Central New Jersey were chiefly engaged in the treatment of "bog ores," as they were then called, but when the abundant deposits in Pennsylvania were developed, the mines of New Jersey ceased operations. This token seems to have been issued by the company, which was not incorporated, to supply currency for their workmen and patrons of the "Store" connected with the "Iron Works."

143. *Obv.* Type of No. 142, but not as well executed; the letters and eagle are smaller; small circles take the place of the two stars. *Rev.* Same as No. 142. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 21½, 22.

144. *Obv.* and *Rev.* Same as No. 143. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal, Brass. Size 21.

This and No. 143 are poorly struck, and not well centered; most specimens show a break in the obverse die from B in BERGEN through the eagle, to the space between IRON and WORKS; on a few it extends from the point of wing *l.* to B.

WITHOUT DATE.

145. *Obv.* A female head *l.*, in outline quite like No. 90, inscribed TROY, within a circle of fourteen stars. *Rev.* BUCKLIN'S BOOK KEEPING; within a wreath of olive leaves, WEST | TROY A dash below. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28, 28½.

This piece is found struck on both thick and thin planchets; the latter are more common. The dies were cut by *True;* the striking is faulty, and the piece perhaps the most wretched example, both in the die-cutting and the striking, of all his work. For Bucklin, see notes on No. 77 above, and for True, see No. 88.

146. *Obv.* Same as No. 145. *Rev.* CARPENTER & MOSHER ' RIVER ' ST Within a badly-executed wreath, DRY | GOODS A dash below. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

Carpenter & Mosher were in business in 1829–31 at No. 404 River Street; the next four years at No. 325, and from 1836 to 1841 at No. 310. In the latter year Mr. Mosher withdrew and was succeeded by Mr. John Carpenter. The senior member of the original firm died about 1850.

147. *Obv.* Same as No. 145. *Rev.* Same as No. 146, but with street number 310 added below the dash.

The location given shows that this piece was struck during the "Hard Times," though it has no date.

148. *Obv.* T. DUSEAMAN BUTCHER above, and * BELLEVILLE * below, completing the circle. Eagle supporting an elliptical shield, bearing an anchor, within a circle of 13 stars. *Rev.* AGRICULTURE & COMMERCE above, and + BAS–CANADA + below, completing the circle. A bouquet of roses, thistle heads, shamrock leaves, etc., in the field. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The obverse of this is an altered die which was undoubtedly executed on the order of T. D. Seaman for his card, but which for its general wretchedness of workmanship was probably rejected by him. The U, as will be noticed on the obverse, is closer to D and S than the letters which follow are to each other. If this letter U should be removed, there would remain the same space between D and S as there is between T and D. The period immediately following D may be observed in the lower part of U. The reverse is the same as the obverse of the Canadian Sou (McLachlan 71 and 72, LeRoux 145), which shows very conclusively that some of the Canadian series were made at the Belleville mint. After the U was added it was suitable for general purposes, and sold to any one in quantities to pass out "for convenience" as a cent. Both dies are badly cracked.

(See notes under No. 155, below, for some account of Seaman, by whose order the obverse die was engraved, and under No. 150 for a brief history of the Belleville coining establishment.)

149. *Obv.* Arms of the city of Philadelphia, supported and crested. *Rev.* F. S. | 50 CENTS Borders 3. Edge 1. Metal, Feuchtwanger. Size 26.

The allusion contained in F. S. has not been learned, but the fact that the obverse die is found in combination with a reverse on a piece of which some account will be found under No. 152, justifies its inclusion in the series.

150. *Obv.* Same as the reverse of No. 66. *Rev.* J. GIBBS MANUFACTURER above, and below, completing the circle, * BELLEVILLE * In field, OF | MEDALS | AND | TOKENS | &C | . N J . Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The V in Belleville is an A reversed.

John Gibbs was the senior member, if not the founder, of the firm of Gibbs, Gardner & Co., of Belleville, N. J. In this town there was, as early as 1835, a manufactory for making and rolling sheet brass, conducted by a concern known as Stevens, Thomas & Fuller. Mr. Fuller died about 1840, but his partners continued the business, adding to it that of making the dies and striking minor coins, chiefly or entirely in copper, for Brazil, Liberia and San Domingo, and tokens and store cards for various American firms, but the latter business was given up two or three years later. Gibbs was born in Birmingham, England, in 1809, and came to this country with his father, William. He was early at Belleville, where he procured a building on the premises occupied by Stevens, Thomas & Fuller, and, with John Gardner, began the manufacture of brass buttons, procuring his "sheet stock" from that firm. Their industry and skill brought them business, and they are reputed to have cut numerous dies for store cards and tokens. They had a large forge or smithy in which the blacksmith work was done, and in addition to this business, Gibbs owned and ran a line of stage coaches from Belleville to Newark, and also to New York: for use on these lines he struck a brass token which reads 1. GIBBS;[1] it is very rare. He removed from Belleville to New York in 1846, where he had a shop on Forsyth street; in 1856 his home was in Williamsburgh, then a separate municipality, but later united to Brooklyn, and now a part of "Greater New York." While living there he manufactured shade fixtures, buckles, lamp-burners, etc. He was an ingenious mechanic, and when a resident of Belleville invented a spring for a clock which required winding but once a year.

So many of the "Hard Times Tokens" came from Belleville that some further notes on the establishment there seem desirable, to complete the history of these pieces. Belleville was a quiet little town in Essex County, New Jersey, on the Passaic River, three miles from Newark. Here, about 1830, was situated the factory in which was carried on the business — extensive for the period — to which reference is made above, The sheet brass which was rolled there was chiefly designed for the manufacture of buttons, then an indispensable part of the attire of a man of fashion, and used to adorn the gay uniforms of the militia. These buttons were often quite elaborate in design, and were struck from dies, many of which showed considerable skill and taste in their workmanship. The demand for skilled labor in their production brought to this country, and finally to this village of Belleville, Mr. Stevens, — the founder of the concern already named, if I am rightly informed; he had been trained in England, probably at Birmingham, in cutting dies and in striking buttons, etc.; and with him came as his partner a Mr. Uffing-

1 The top of the letter I spreads a little and suggests a T, but it is probably meant for an I (*i. e.* J.)

ton, who is said to have supplied much of the capital for the business. More or less closely allied with these gentlemen were Gibbs and others.

In the course of time the establishment came to be currently known to the residents of the neighborhood as the "Belleville Mint." The demand for a metallic currency to take the place of the "shinplasters" soon led to the striking of store cards, tokens, and the like, and of imitations of Cents; to protect their makers from the charge of counterfeiting and the danger of seizure, or from the facetious whim of the coiners, these pieces were inscribed "NOT ONE CENT." During the period of dearth of a legitimate minor coinage such issues had a wide circulation, and were generally accepted without objection. In addition to these pieces, the "Belleville Mint" executed numerous orders for supplying minor coins for Brazil and other countries, as has been mentioned, including various tokens for circulation in Canada. An article in the *Newark Sunday Call*, under date of June 2, 1895, gives a romantic account of some branches of this business. There was nothing in the United States laws at that time which prevented such a coinage, and even now it is well known that private firms occasionally enter upon contracts to strike coins for foreign governments which have no mints of their own, and without objection. Some of the Belleville issues, however, if the account just quoted is to be accepted, were ordered by irresponsible parties for their private ends, with the intention of exporting them, putting them into circulation, and receiving whatever profit might accrue from the enterprise, and this practice is said to have led to complaints which finally resulted in putting a stop to this business. The fashion of store cards, like that for wearing brass buttons on the coat or vest, passed away, and with its departure the Belleville concern ceased to do any further coining.

151. *Obv.* W. GIBBS . AGRICULTUREIST . above, and below, completing the circle, ✱ . N . YORK . ✱ Bouquet of wheat, thistles and roses. *Rev.* Same as the obverse of No. 66. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

William Gibbs was the father of John Gibbs, of Belleville, N. J., by whom, as has been stated above, the dies for this token were engraved and the pieces were struck, probably about 1837 to 1840, when the contest as to the construction to be given to the Constitution of the United States was still a vital issue between the leaders of the two great National parties. [See Nos. 12, 51 and 58.] The elder Gibbs was a resident of New York City; his house was on what is now Fifth Avenue and 71st Street, where he cultivated a large flower and vegetable garden, certainly as early as 1846, and probably several years previously, following his arrival from England, whence he came to this country about 1835. The combination of thistles, roses, etc., in the bouquet may possibly refer to the emblems of Great Britain, which perhaps commended its use to the Canadians on the well-known "Sou series." His name does not appear in the New York Directories, for at that time his home was outside what were considered the city limits.

152. *Obv.* Same as No. 149. *Rev.* CORPORATION OF PHILADELPHIA In field, ONE | SHILLING | TOKEN Borders 3. Edge 1. Metal, Feuchtwanger. Size 26.

The date of striking this token is approximately fixed by an incident in the life of Mr. William Bellamy, of New York, who wrote to Mr. Geo. B. Mason, June 28, 1863, that he found one of these pieces "in Washington Park or Parade Ground about the year 1835 or 1836." Mr. Bellamy in his letter,

the original of which is now before me, says he is able to fix the date by the fact that he was on his way to visit the lady who shortly after became his wife.

153. *Obv.* ABRAHAM RIKER | Nº 131 | DIVISION Sᵀ | NEW YORK A slipper, boot and shoe; an ornament at either side of DIVISION ST and another below it. *Rev.* Same as No. 97. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

Mr. Riker's business record in New York city covers a long period, extending from 1815, when he was located at No. 20 Suffolk Street, to 1860, when he is given as occupying 53 Canal Street. In the interval he was at six other places, one of which is mentioned on the token.

154. *Obv.* Same as No. 153. *Rev.* Same as No. 36. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

155. *Obv.* T. D. SEAMAN BUTCHER above, and below, completing the circle, * BELLEVILLE * Bouquet similar to No. 151. *Rev.* Same as the obverse of No. 66. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

T. D. Seaman kept a public house in Belleville, N. J., in or about 1837, and by the token it appears that he was also engaged in business there as a butcher. He is believed to be identical with Tobias D. Seaman, who kept the Mechanics' Hotel, No. 188 Broad Street, at Newark, N. J., from 1845 to 1850; in 1851 he kept the South Ward Hotel, at 398 Broad Street, in the same city. Nothing more has been learned of him.

156. *Obv.* Same as No. 88. *Rev.* MACHINE SHOP above, and below, completing the circle, * TURNING & BORING. * In the field, ★★★ | SCREWS | FOR PAPER, | OIL & CIDER | MILLS, &C. At the bottom a minute bust between two small stars. A screw-bolt. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The reverse is that of the card of N. Starbuck & Son, of Troy; the dies were engraved by True.

157. *Obv.* Same as No. 91. *Rev.* Same as No. 156. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

The same remark applies to this as to the preceding.

158. *Obv.* A. LOOMIS CLEVELAND OHIO An eagle with his head *l.*, a serpent in his beak; his talons hold two arrows, one pointing *r.* and the other *l.* *Rev.* DEALER IN GROCERIES LIQUORS In the field, WINES & · · C. | NO. 34 | MERWIN. Sᴛ | 1843 Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

159. *Obv.* Same design as No. 158; an eagle on two arrows, but *both* pointing *r.* *Rev.* Same as No. 158. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

160. *Obv.* Same design as No. 159, but there is no serpent in the eagle's beak. *Rev.* Same as No. 158. Borders 5. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

The introduction of these three pieces was made possible when accepting the one which immediately follows them, dated 1844, the type of which, both obverse and reverse, so distinctly imitates the quintessence of the series that I felt constrained to include it.



161. *Obv.* J. COCHRAN BELLFOUNDER above, and below, completing the circle, ★★★ BATAVIA ★★★ surrounding a female head, laureated, in profile to left. *Rev.* AN ARMY FOR DEFENCE outside of an unfinished wreath of olive leaves and berries formed by a single branch tied at the base with a bow of ribbon, between the end of which and the stem is the date 1844; within the wreath the inscription NOT | ONE | CENT | — | FOR - TRIBUTE the last line curving upward. Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28.

I believe that the first knowledge of this piece by collectors, certainly the first mention of it which has been found on record, so far as I have been able to discover, dates from its appearance in a public sale held in New York, on December 1, 1896. The motto "Millions for Defence" had ceased to be a popular cry; the era of peace and good feeling, save for the growing opposition to slavery, was regnant; the war with Mexico had not begun, and the special signification of the reverse legend is therefore difficult to discover; it is doubtful if it be anything more than a modification of the earlier motto. I attribute it to Batavia, now a wealthy city in Genesee County, N. Y., then a prosperous town. No other specimen is known to me.

162. *Obv.* M. VAN. BUREN. Bust *r.* over small olive wreath, encircled by twenty-six stars. *Rev.* INDEPENDENT TREASURY — JULY . 4 . 1840 Eagle with olive branch and arrows in talons, shield on breast, as on silver coinage of same period. Always holed. Borders 3. Edge 3. Metal Æ. Size 22½.

163. *Obv.* HOWELL WORKS GARDEN A rose with stem and leaves. *Rev.* Token Borders 1. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 26½.

164. *Obv.* Same as obverse of 83 (Richards). *Rev.* Same as reverse of 80 (Schenck). Borders 4. Edge 1. Metal Æ. Size 28½.

Nos. 35, 91 and 157 are additions to the series described in the first edition.

No. 87 I have seen in silver, struck over a Spanish American Two-Reales of Charles III. As this coin was current in the United States, many years subsequent to the issuing of their card, I have no doubt but that this silver piece was their issue for 25 cents.

No. 102, in brass, should have been given a separate number, and graded as rarity 5.

Some account might have been given of Jas. G. Moffet who conducted a mint at Belleville and unquestionably made many of the series, and I especially attribute to him, by the character of their workmanship, such pieces as Maycock, Crossman and others of this peculiar style. A comparison with his own card, I think, goes far to confirm this.

INDEXES.

I.

NEW AND OLD NUMBERS WITH DEGREE OF RARITY.

GRADES OF RARITY.

V. C., very common; C., common; N. C., not common; S., scarce; Rarity 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

New.	Old.	Rarity.
1	1	6
2		6
3		3
4		3
5		3
6	2	4
7	3	5
8	4	C
9	5	2
10	6	2
11	7	6
12	8	S
13		2
14		2
15		2
16		2
17	23	5
18	24	C
19	25	V. C.
20	26	C
21	27	3
22	28	3
23	29	3
24	31	7
25	30	7
26	32	7
27	33	7
28	34	S
29	35	2
30	36	4
31	37	S
32	38	1
33	39	V. C.
34	40	S
35		S
36	41	1
37	42	2
38	43	1
39	44	1
40	45	2
41	46	7
42	47	7
43	48	7
44	49	S
45	50	S
46	51	S
47	52	C
48	53	N. C.
49	54	S
50	55	8
51	16	V. C.
52	17	2
53	18	1
54	79	C
55	80	S
56	81^{3}, 82^{5}	
57		4
58	84	C
59	85	1
60	86	S
61	87	6
62	88	C
63	89	2
64	90	C
65	91	2
66	56	2
67	92	N. C.
68	93	S
69	94	N. C.

New.	Old.	Rarity.
70	95	7
71	96	7
72		4
73		5
74		1
75		N. C.
76		C
77		5
78		1
79		S
80		C
81		3
82		7
83		N. C.
84		N. C.
85		6
86		N. C.
87		5
88	9	5
89	10	5
90	12	4
91		7
92		C
93		4
94		N. C.
95	19	1
96	20	7
97	21	C
98	22	V. C.
99		C
100		1
101		1
102		7
103		S
104		C
105		3
106		5
107		C
108		7
109		1
110	66	C
111	67	C
112	62	2
113	63	1
114	61	2
115	74	1
116		3
117	75	2
118	76	5
119	77	7
120	78	C
121		6
122	68	2
123	69	S
124		C
125	64	3
126	65	1
127		1
128		7
129		3
130		2
131		N. C.
132		C
133		2
134		3
135		2
136		1
137		3
138		2
139		4
140	73	3
141	72	4
142		2
143		4
144		3
145	13	2
146	14	6
147	15	7
148	60	N. C.
149		7
150	57	4
151	58	4
152		7
153	70	1
154	71	3
155	59	4
156	11	5
157		6
158		5
159		4
160		4
161		8
162	83	4
163		3
164		1

II.

OLD AND NEW NUMBERS WITH DEGREE OF RARITY.

GRADES OF RARITY.

V. C., very common; C., common; N. C., not common; S., scarce; Rarity 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Old No.	Rarity.	New No.
1	6	1
2	4	6
3	5	7
4	C	8
5	2	9
6	2	10
7	6	11
8	S	12
9	5	88
10	5	89
11	5	156
12	4	90
13	2	145
14	6	146
15	7	147
16	V.C.	51
17	2	52
18	1	53
19	1	95
20	7	96
21	C	97
22	V.C.	98
23	5	17
24	C	18
25	V.C.	19
26	C	20
27	3	21
28	3	22
29	3	23
30	7	25
31	7	24
32	7	26
33	7	27
34	S	28
35	2	29
36	4	30
37	S	31
38	1	32
39	V.C.	33
40	S	34
41	1	36
42	2	37
43	1	38
44	1	39
45	2	40
46	7	41
47	7	42
48	7	43
49	S	44
50	S	45
51	S	46
52	C	47
53	N.C.	48
54	S	49
55	8	50
56	2	66
57	4	150
58	4	151
59	4	155
60	N.C.	148
61	2	114
62	2	112
63	1	113
64	3	125
65	1	126
66	C	110
67	C	111
68	2	122
69	S	123
70	1	153
71	3	154
72	4	141
73	3	140
74	1	115
75	2	117
76	5	118
77	7	119
78	C	120
79	C	54
80	S	55
81[3] } 82[5] }	Æ B omitted..	56
83	4	162
84	C	58
85	1	59
86	S	60
87	6	61
88	C	62
89	2	63
90	C	64
91	2	65
92	N.C.	67
93	S	68
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